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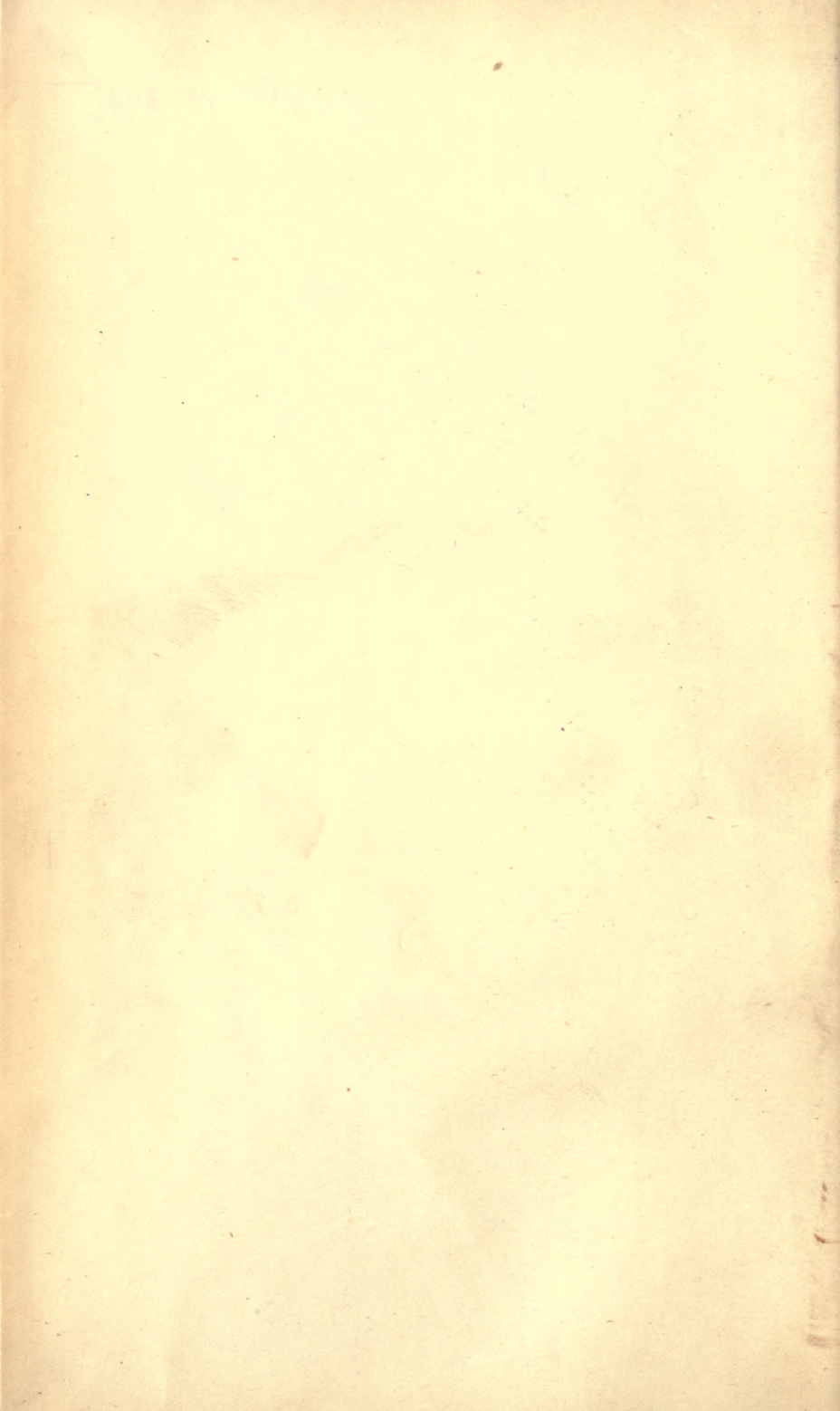
NEW YORK

VOLUME XI.



NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1896.

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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOLUME XI.



NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:

PRINTED BY ANDREW REID, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS, AKENSIDE HILL.

1886.

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ERRATA.

Page 132, line 22, for "seven inches" read "one foot seven inches."

Page 135, line 8, "the height of the milestone is 3 feet 1 inch, the tablet on which the inscription is incised is 1 foot 9 inches high by 1 foot 1½ inches wide."

Page 169, line 5, for "*Rhoeticus*" read "*Rhaeticus*."

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John Clayton, F.S.A.: Plates VII., VIII., XII., and XIII., and Woodcuts at pages 117 and (ring) 235.

J. R. Carr-Ellison: Plate XVII.

R. Oliver Heslop: Plate XXII.

W. H. Knowles: Drawings at pages 181, 246 (2), 248, and 250.

John Philipson: Plates XX. and XXI.

C. J. Spence: Drawing at page 241.

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Volume 100, Part 1, 1970
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REPORT
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

M.DCCC.LXXXV.

THE year 1884 will be memorable in the annals of the Society for two events—the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute and the completion of the Black Gate Museum.

Notwithstanding that the Archæological Institute had, so recently as 1882, visited the neighbouring county of Cumberland, it seemed fitting that the recent installation of Earl Percy as President of that Society should be commemorated by a visit to the county of his ancestors. This Society accordingly, on its own responsibility, offered an invitation to the Institute, which was cordially accepted, and the meeting which took place in consequence, from the 5th to the 13th of August, is one upon which both Societies may look back with pleasure. A succession of days of almost cloudless brilliancy, and a temperature which, if it had a fault, erred in the direction of too great heat, gave our visitors a very favourable impression of the character of our Northumberland summers, and greatly promoted the success of the excursions, which were well attended and universally enjoyed. Alnwick, Warkworth, Holy Island, Bamborough, Chesters, Ravensworth Castle, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Corbridge, and Durham were all visited, and the interchange of opinions between our local antiquaries and the visitors could hardly fail to be profitable to both. One rainy day, if we had been favoured with it, would probably have caused more justice to be done to the very interesting loan collection of antiquities which was exhibited in the new Museum at the Black

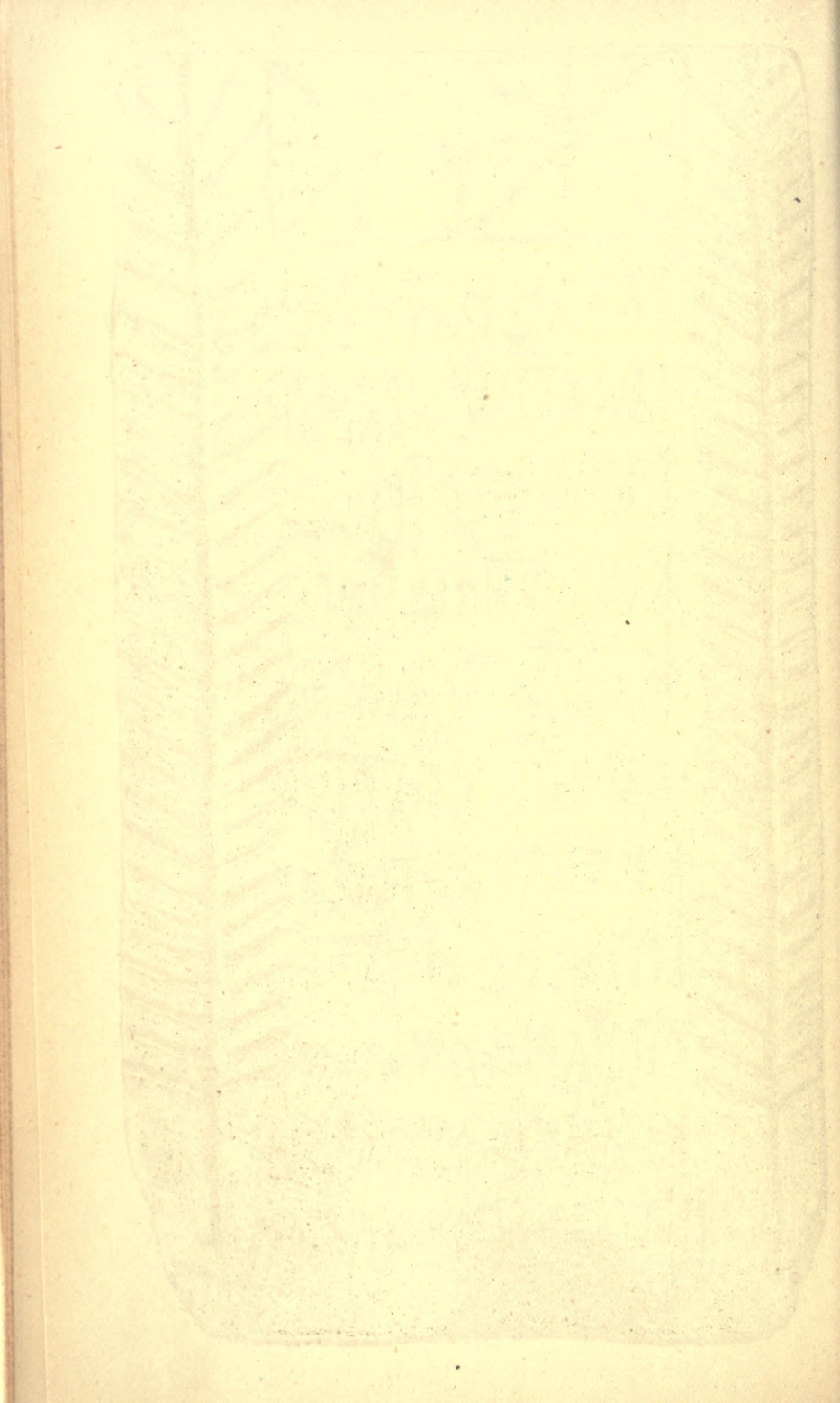
Gate; but even as it was, in presence of the uniformly brilliant weather, there was a fair attendance of visitors. The sectional meetings, held for the most part late in the evening after very long excursions, were necessarily somewhat hurried, but have, at any rate, enriched our Transactions with a number of valuable papers.

As for the Black Gate, it will be in the remembrance of all the members of the Society how recently this interesting monument of antiquity was threatened with entire demolition. The offer of the antiquaries to rent it at a nominal sum for the purpose of a Museum was received with favour by the Corporation, and the building, which has been put into a state of thorough repair, is now in the occupation of the Society. The Roman altars are all stored upon the first floor, and this interesting collection, which is believed to be the finest in our island, can now be seen under more advantageous circumstances than when it was dispersed about the dark halls and passages of the Castle. The cost of adapting the Black Gate to its present purpose has been about £1,600, the funds for which have been provided by a special subscription from members and friends of the Society. The Council have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which the contractor, Mr. Burton, has performed the work, under the able superintendence of Mr. R. J. Johnson, a statement by whom, as to the details of the work accomplished, is appended to this Report (page vi.)

It is proposed formally to open the new Museum on a date to be fixed by the Society, and in order to add interest to the ceremony a loan collection will be formed, contributions to which have been solicited by your Secretaries from the chief collectors in Northumberland and Durham.

The archæological record of the year that has just closed has been an interesting one, and will be found, we trust, fairly set forth in our Transactions and Proceedings. The excavations which Mr. Clayton is carrying forward at Chesters between the camp and the river continue to interest and perplex antiquaries. The generally accepted theory appears to be that they disclose the site of a Roman villa, and in this connection it is interesting to observe some resemblances of plan between this building and the villas described in Cohausen's superb monograph on the *Limes Germanicus*. The hypocausts and

ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗ
 ΙΔΩΝΤΩΝ ΒΥΚΡΑ
 ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗΣ ΕΡΩΝ
 ΚΟΙΝΗΤΗΝ ΟΥ ΕΠΟΣ
 ΡΑ ΔΑΪΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΤΗ
 ΧΑΙΡΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΡΟ
 ΚΗΝΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟ
 ΕΡΩΝ ΕΧΩ ΚΥΤΑΤΗ
 ΤΕΡΑΡΩ ΕΡΩΝ ΕΤ
 ΚΙ ΜΑΧΕΙΛΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΥ
 ΕΙΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΝ ΤΑΙ ΕΑΝΤ



ascending flues for warming the various chambers are in an admirable state of preservation. But the chamber at the north end of the building, with its five semi-circular recesses remains an unsolved mystery.

The altar found at Housesteads containing an inscription in honour of *Mars Thingsus*, the work of a Frisian Cohort, greatly interests our German fellow-workers, who deem that this inscription may throw some light even on the political institutions of their and our Teutonic forefathers.

Another important sepulchral monument has been discovered at South Shields, only second in interest to the monument of Regina which was found there some years ago. The subject of this epitaph was a young man, freedman of an officer in an Asturian *ala* (that which was stationed at Benwell), and may possibly have been waiting for a ship to convey him to the warmer climate of Italy when death overtook him in his northern exile. (See Vol. X., pp. 311-318.)

In this connection we may refer to the celebrated stone found at Brough, in Westmoreland, and now deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The deciphering of the inscription on this stone has been the subject of a keen controversy, chiefly carried on in the columns of the *Academy*. It was commenced by Professor Sayce, and has been continued by Messrs. Bradley, Isaac Taylor, Nicholson, Evans, and Ridgeway. Though some parts of the inscription still remain obscure, it is now universally admitted that it contains six lines in Greek hexameters, recording the fate of *Hermes* of Commagene, apparently a youth of sixteen years, who seems to have met his fate in the land of the Cimmerii. There is an obvious temptation to connect this word with the Cymric inhabitants of Britain, but some of our most competent Celtic scholars doubt the possibility of such a connection. From the character of the letters the inscription is believed to belong to the fifth century of our era. An inscription in Greek letters in honour of a Syrian youth, carved in the century which witnessed the fall of the Western Empire, and now brought to light upon a lonely hill in Westmoreland, suggests abundant materials for reflection. (See illustration* facing page iv.)

* Kindly lent by the proprietors of the *Athenæum*.

In mediæval archæology, perhaps the most interesting fact has been the discovery of the foundations of the Abbey of Alnwick. This has been accomplished by excavations carried on in Alnwick Park by the Duke of Northumberland, under the able superintendence of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, F.S.A.

The following is the position of the Society as regards members:—

No. of Members on January 1st, 1884	...	181
Elected during year	... ..	50
		<hr/> 231
Died, 1; Resigned, 6	... ..	7
		<hr/> 224
No. of Members on January 1st, 1885	...	<hr/> <hr/> 224

In conclusion, the Council feel that they may congratulate the Society on the flourishing state of its affairs, and trust that in a district so peculiarly calculated as ours is to attract fresh recruits to the study of archæology, a career of yet wider usefulness and popularity lies before it.

APPENDIX.

The Black Gate was the principal entrance to the Castle enclosure, and is a building of great historical interest, as it forms the sole relic of the extensive works of Henry III. in the Castle. Up to June, 1247, the works of a certain new gate in the Castle cost £514 15s. 11d., and a further sum of £36 0s. 8d. was afterwards laid out on the repair of a gate at Newcastle. These sums resulted in the erection of the fabric that now remains to us.

Formerly the outer archway was protected by a drawbridge and moat, with a further outwork or barbican, but these outworks have entirely disappeared.

Of the actual work of the time of Henry III. the main walls of the gate and the two interesting and beautiful vaulted chambers on either side of the archway are the principal remains,

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the gate had become ruinous, and a lease of it was granted to one Stevenson, who inserted the stone mullioned windows, some doorways, and some pretty fireplaces in the style of the period.

In the eighteenth century ruin again took place; part of the eastern wall fell down and was reinstated in brick in a poor way.

Afterwards, the place was very much neglected, and another part of the walling had fallen away some years ago, and was made up with rough wooden boards. The space was divided into tenements, hardly fit for human habitation, and when it came into the Society's hands its condition was inconceivably squalid and miserable.

The whole of the interior was gutted, and the walls were thoroughly cleaned and replastered. That part which had given way was reinstated in stone. New floors were put in, and a new roof was put on, covered with the old tiles.

The vaulted chambers were repaired, and three fine apartments of considerable size have been secured, above which there are some rooms for a caretaker.

A new wing joined to the east side of the gate contains the staircase for access to the upper stories and a porter's lodge, waiting room, &c.

The chamber on the first floor being of ample size, and supported by the strong vaults of the ground floor, forms an admirable Museum for the reception of the fine collection of Roman altars, &c., belonging to the Society. The upper chambers are being arranged as Museums for the preservation and display of the other collections of the Society.

Dr.**WM. DODD, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT**

							£	s.	d.
1884.									
January,	To	Balance brought forward	...	...	...	...	441	17	4
		" Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	223	13	0
		" Collections at the Castle	...	...	...	...	74	17	6
		" Books sold	...	...	...	...	39	2	6
		" Interest	...	...	...	...	14	14	5

Examined with the Books and Vouchers and found correct,
SHERITON HOLMES.

January 23rd, 1885.

WITH THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

Cr.

1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By PRINTING—							
	Andrew Reid	93	1	0			
	<i>Journal</i> Office	20	7	6			
	Lambert & Co.	16	12	6			
	G. Nicholson	18	9	6			
					148	10	6
„ DRAWINGS, ENGRAVINGS, AUTOTYPES, &c.—							
	D. Mossman	3	13	6			
	J. Akerman	13	10	0			
	R. B. Utting	91	15	0			
	Autotype Company	5	15	4			
	Sprague & Co.	13	0	0			
	Bradbury & Co.	0	7	6			
	Whiting	0	19	0			
	Ellis & White	3	0	0			
	J. Wilson... ..	0	3	0			
	Dallas	0	8	1			
	Photo Engraving Company	0	18	0			
					133	9	5
„ Books—							
	W. Scott	0	15	0			
	C. C. Hodges	0	11	0			
	Learmount	0	10	6			
	Sir G. Duckett	0	12	3			
	Asher & Co.	3	5	9			
	Wm. Dodd	5	0	0			
	D. Nutt	0	18	0			
	R. Robinson	1	19	6			
	H. W. Ball	0	14	0			
	Griffin & Co.	0	6	0			
					14	12	0
„ BLACK GATE—							
	Town Clerk for Lease	2	2	0			
	Carriage of Cases	1	7	6			
	Printing	3	17	0			
	Rent, 2 years	2	0	0			
	Charwoman	0	5	0			
	Archæological Institute for Case	10	0	0			
	Insurance	3	12	3			
					23	3	9
„ J. Gibson, 1 year's Salary and Gratuity... ..							
	Charwoman, &c.				52	8	4
„ Rent of Castle							
	Insurance do.				1	8	6
	Two Cheque Books				0	2	6
	Subscription to Surtees Society				0	7	6
	Do. Harleian Society... ..				0	5	0
	T. W. Waters, Binding				1	1	0
	Bronze Spear Head, from River				1	1	0
	<i>Chronicle</i> , Advertising				12	0	0
	G. H. Moor... ..				1	0	0
	H. Watson				0	4	6
	Mawson & Swan				3	1	6
	T. & J. Hancock				0	12	0
	Secretary's Expenses to London, &c.				0	12	6
	Postage and Carriage				0	5	8
	Gas, Coke, and Firewood				4	12	6
	Commission on Subscriptions				23	15	4
	Sundries				2	0	5
	January, Balance in hand				10	14	0
1885,					0	15	5
					358	1	5
					£794	4	9

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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA. 583

I.—THE PAINTER HEUGH, NEWCASTLE; AND THE WIND-MILL.

BY JAMES CLEPHAN.

[Read on August 27th, 1884.]

"TIME," says Sir Thomas Browne, "which perfects some things, imperfects also others;" brings them, perchance, to nought. Change is the world's great constancy. Its mutability was exercising, in 1732, the moralising mind of a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. A recent fashionable reception had set his pen in motion, and he pictures one of the fair throng "in a velvet cap, with a flap let down to her shoulders, of the same make with one of our Newcastle carriers." The Newcastle waggon, immortalised in literature and art, rumbled from stage to stage along the Great North Road through the eighteenth century. It was creeping out of our streets on a Saturday morning of 1782, pledged to its patrons to be in London "that day fourteen days;" while for less leisurely travellers there was in 1785 a stage coach that slept but two nights on the road. The Royal Mail, of which England was once so proud, had its advent on the Tyne in 1786; and in three-score years came its end. Ears yet living have heard in our town the cry of "Tar-barrel matches, a halfpenny a bunch;" yet where, now, is the tinder-box? Flint-and-steel and the brimstone match are numbered with the things that were. The crack of the friction-lucifer is heard the whole earth round. Mr. Moseley tells us, in his *Notes of a Naturalist on the Challenger* (1875), that in the Tonga Islands he had some difficulty in persuading one of the natives to get fire for him by friction of wood, matches being so common that they do not care to undergo the labour of the old process, except when driven to it by necessity; and no doubt, as he observes, the younger generation will

lose the knack of it altogether. At Banda, the metropolis of nutmegs, hearing the sound of music in the native quarter of the town, he made his way towards the house whence it came, in the hope of seeing a Malay dance, but found himself in the presence of a European waltz.

The whirl of the waltz and the explosion of the lucifer are as ubiquitous as the electric messenger. But where are the whirling wands that gave animation and a name to the hills of Gateshead ; and where the Elizabethan mill of the Painter Heugh, in the parish of All Saints, Newcastle ? In the earliest plan of the town wherein the Archæological Institute is now in congress, "described by William Matthew" in 1610, and vignettèd by Speed in a corner of his map of Northumberland, an old stob-mill in Pandon looks over the mural defences of Newcastle ; within which, for untold years, the mill of the Painter Heugh had been industriously adding to the fortunes of the Shaftoes. Would we measure the mutations of the centuries, we have but to turn to the *Wills and Inventories* that fill two of the volumes of the Surtees Society, edited by the Rev. Dr. Raine and Canon Greenwell, where is commemorated for our instruction the Painter Heugh in the time of the Tudors, with its flowers and fruit-trees blooming and blossoming in a succession of "little gardens," the pride and pleasure of the inhabitants ; while in the neighbouring ravine, that gave place to Dean Street less than a hundred years ago, was heard the babbling song of the Lort Burn, on its eager downward way to the Tyne. Traversing the streets of modern Newcastle, few persons would imagine, remarked Mr. Bouchier Richardson in 1850, that far below their feet "there still flowed a rapid stream, which once upon a time ornamented the gardens of the Franciscan Friars, and was crossed by three ancient stone bridges." By the side of this stream, "James Fennye, grocer and potticcarrie," was on the closing day of October, in or about the year 1560, bequeathing his body to the mother church of Newcastle, "to be buried within the porch of Sancte Cuthbert," and parting his household gods and gear among kith and kin. Pleasant home and loving wife he must quit for the cypress and the yew ; his orchards on the Tyne, his "ferme holde in Pencharde in the countie of Durham, with the corn there vppon now sowen ;" his "neowe howse" in Newcastle, "lyeinge in the Syde," with "a garden in the Paynter Hughe, and now in the occupation of me ;" also "thre letell gardens lieinge

in the said town, in a place called the Paynter Hughe;" a name, as we are informed by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, occurring in 1373. (*Archæologia Æliana*, N.S., Vol. III., page 62.)

Oswald Chapman, the Mayor of 1558, also contributes, in his will of 1566, a glimpse of the heugh, stretching down from Pilgrim Street to the burn intersecting the town. His body is to lodge in its narrow house "before the revestri dore" of St. Nicholas's. His spacious mansion in the Close, with garden and orchard and rustic surroundings, passes, after the death of the testator's wife, to their son Henry, namesake of his maternal grandsire, Henry Anderson, oft-times Mayor. Well-left is the widow Marion, "connected, both by birth and marriage, with some of the wealthiest families of Newcastle." "To my son Mathewe," says her husband, "my house in Pilgrim Strete, at the heade of the Paynter Heuge, wherin Widow Collingwood dwelleth." Widow Collingwood had before her, from the head of the heugh, the prospect of a country town, besprinkled with gardens and orchards, and cut in twain by ravine and rivulet, the tributary waters flowing open to the sky, and spanned at intervals by viaducts, whose province it was, in concert with every variety of thoroughfare, to bring the few thousand inhabitants into one; a fair scene, the natural site of which, as it existed, riven and rugged, when man first came upon the ground with his rude building materials, the liveliest imagination might attempt to picture in vain.

The Painter Heugh, besides its native charms of flower-bed and hedge-row, and grateful verdure, had, in the same century, a mill profiting by its favouring breezes (I am assuming its alliance with the winds of heaven), whose wooden tower and energetic arms ministered to the means of its owners and the wants of the community. Mark Shafto, dwelling in the Side, who had been Sheriff and Mayor, and Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, enjoying honours and accepting responsibilities that had fallen to the lot of his father before him, was settling his affairs on the 8th of November, 1592. After expressing his desire "to be buried in the parishe church of Sancte Nicholas, as neare as maye be to the sepulchre of his late father," he bestows personal and real estate among friends and relatives—moneys and goods, coals and keels, houses and lands. "To Mark Shafto, my nephewe, and the heires mailles of his bodie, all my

message, &c., scituate in a certaine streete called the Cloth Market, together with my mill, standing in a certaine place called the Painter Heughe." The historic keels, that flow to music in our popular local song, are all but extinct on the Tyne, floating away in the wake of Mark Shafto's mill; and the steam-boat, first launched on our navigable channel in 1814, becomes lord-paramount of the Tyne. The wind-mill, that went merrily round within the now vanished walls of Newcastle, has succumbed to the Roman poet's "devourer of all things;" and the regiment of wands in the neighbouring borough, whose rival revolutions would have been a bewildering challenge to Don Quixote, have fallen gradually away, tower after tower going down like ninepins before the assaults of time. When the machinery of Mark Shafto, the Mayor of 1578, was crushing corn into meal, the Millers' Company of Newcastle could boast of a score or more of brethren, with an ancient play of their own, founded on the Deliverance of the Children of Israel from the Thralldom, Bondage, and Servitude of King Pharaoh. They had their penalties for the preservation of law and order; to which, in a later day, they added an imposition of sixpence on every member of their society who should attend the burial of a brother in a black hat; one-half of their income from fines going, with commendable public spirit, to the maintenance of Old Tyne Bridge; that composite structure, street and viaduct combined, which was washed away, after five centuries of service, by a November flood in 1771. (Brand's *Newcastle*, II., 348.)

At what time the apothecary's gardens and Mark Shafto's mill took possession of the Painter Heugh, and when they disappeared, records inform us not. Legends hover round the heights, but history is silent when we are unreasonable enough to ask for dates—for entrances and exits. The Alderman's mill is cloud-capt on the heugh, like so many other relics of the past on which Edie Ochiltree and Monkbarns are not agreed. Its owner is less explicit than he might have been in describing his bequest. The Mayor of 1578, whose predecessor in 1335, Richard Acton, was commanded by Edward III. to have him horse-mills and wind-mills made, does not specify in his will of what kind was his mill in the Painter Heugh—corn-mill or fulling-mill, wind-mill or water mill. Time and circumstance seem to me to point to wind; but inferences are apt to be frail. Happily, however, it matters little

though I be mistaken. The mill of the Painter Heugh, which was and is not, has left rather a riddle than a rack behind; and should it turn out that I have erred in its solution, the argument of my paper, as to the rise and progress and decay of the wind-mill, would not be affected by the correction of my conjecture. When it was—in what year of the world—that to hand and horse and water power, wind was added for the reduction of grain to meal, on the banks of the Tyne, or elsewhere between the Tees and the Tweed, is an open question. There is no laying of salt on the first beginnings of inventions or improvements. There are no sharp lines of demarcation in social progress. The old and the new overlap. “On the estates of the monasteries, water-mills and wind-mills,” says Cosmo Innes, “were used for grinding corn in the thirteenth century, and previously; though the rude process of the hand-mill kept its ground, in some districts of Scotland, to a recent period.” (*Scotland in the Middle Ages*, page 146, 1860.) It was a Scotch millwright who, in the closing years of Bishop Bek (1283–1311), was playing his part in yoking wind to a mill of Norton, on the southern verge of the diocese of Durham. The roll of 25 Antony, under the head of “Refectiōne Molendinorum,” has the item, “In solutione facta Roberto de Tevydale carpentario pro meremio colpando ad unum molendinum ventriticum faciendum apud Norton, 20s.” (Appendix to *Boldon Buke*, page xxxvi., Vol. 25 of the Surtees Society, edited by Canon Greenwell.)

The *Boldon Buke* that carries us back to Pudsey’s Survey of 1183, reminds old schoolboys of the Bishopric of the tongue of their youth, persistently adhering to the language of bygone days; for in the time of Waterloo, youngsters still went to “skule;” they talked among themselves, if not in the face of the master, of their “bukes;” and in holiday hours they flung their “hukes” into the tributary “becks” of the Tees.

The *Boldon Book* which may be pardoned, in archæological company, for prompting this digression, does not help us much as to whether wind-mills were in existence in the county palatine when the now rugged and sombre keep of Newcastle was “in its newest gloss;” but the sites of not a few of its mills suggest, not water, but wind, as the moving power; and in the pages introductory to the Register of Richarde de Kellawe (1311–16), Bec’s successor, edited by Sir Thomas

Duffus Hardy, we have the advantage of the fact that Bishop Antony and Prior Richard having got to loggerheads, among the charges made against the bishop was "the dismantling of the prior's wind-mill at Jarewe;" a piece of incidental history for which we cannot too sufficiently be grateful; for thus, in the reign of Bishop Bec, we have the wind-mill brought before us, over the broad palatinate, from the Tees to the Tyne.

Bishop and Prior could not dwell together in peace any more than England and Scotland. The mill at Jarrow had been assailed in 1305. In 1335, Edward III., at war with the Scots, was issuing his mandate to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Newcastle to make him two horse-mills and two wind-mills, and send them to Berwick, where the authorities on the Tweed were to put them in instant operation, that his warriors might be fed. It was no very formidable demand. Every burgess of Newcastle had at this time, as one of his privileges, the freedom to have on his land either hand, horse, water, or wind mill; and the Mayor and Bailiffs would have no difficulty in finding craftsmen to respond to the royal behest.

When Bishop Hatfield, who succeeded Bury in 1345, on the eve of the battle of Neville's Cross, had his Survey in hand, there were wind-mills in various parts of the Bishopric. Gateshead, with two water-mills, had one wind-mill; Sedgfield had wind-mill and water-mill; and there were wands waving at Easington, Hartlepool, and Humbleton; at Tunstall, Wearmouth, Whitburn-cum-Cleadon; and not improbably at other places where neither wind nor water is indicated as the motive power. In the next century, the one mill with wands in Gateshead is becoming legion. Mention occurs in 1437 of the now dismantled "Wind Mill Hill," which, in days not remote, formed a favourite subject of the pencil and graver of Bewick. (Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, Vol. I., page 297.)

There was held in the church of Gateshead, in the month of November, 1501, an ecclesiastical visitation, at which miscellaneous matters were brought under review from a succession of parishes. From All Saints', Newcastle, there was a presentment that belongs to the subject of mills. The millers of the parish were said to frequently follow their vocation on festival days; and it was enjoined upon them to refrain, under pain of a fine of 10s., unless in case of necessity.

(Appendix to *Ecclesiastical Proceedings* of Bishop Barnes, Surtees Society, Vol. XXII., pp. 35, 36.)

The wind-mill, when or where soever it first began to lend life to our landscapes, was plentiful with us before the Wars of the Roses, which ended with the death of Richard III. on Bosworth Field, and the introduction of Henry VII. to the line of England's kings. The circling sails swept round when York and Lancaster were fighting for the crown, careless which of them won the prize, nor sobered by the shadows cast by "the whirligig of time" on the quern:—Time, whose tooth, grinding slow and sure, is ever devouring its offspring. From the hand-mill in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, to the wind-mill now on its wane, all things have their term—their rise, their meridian, and their sunset hour. Stage-coach and mail-coach, tinder-box and brimstone-match, mystic Runes and Roman Wall, each in its turn becomes food for antiquaries. When first the British Association met at Newcastle, in the year 1838, the iron horse, though chafing for admission, had not yet found entrance to our streets; but it has now its Central Station where the Neville Tower of the town-wall had stood for centuries, and the railway-whistle screams exultant as the passenger train scours on its lofty arch over the Side, deigning no glance in the direction of the Painter Heugh; its gardens gone, and with them Mark Shafto's shadowy mill.

Six-score years ago, the pastoral poet, John Cunningham, was setting to song in Newcastle the successive stages of a summer's day—its Morning, Noon, and Eventide. He sang the experiences of some imaginary shepherd, Lubin or Damon, Colin or Corydon, sheltering in the sultry noontide hours "by the branching pines," when "not a leaf has leave to stir."

Echo, in her airy round,
O'er the river, rock, and hill,
Cannot catch a single sound,
Save the clack of yonder mill.

But where the poet "piped for the shepherds" of the early days of George III., in many a rustic retreat by the Tyne, vainly might Echo listen, now, to catch the "clack" of rejoicing wands. Steam wrestles with wind and water, and mill-stones have their rivals in the mill-rollers that fashion the corn of modern harvests into flour for our

bread. "There are in Newcastle and its vicinity," wrote Mackenzie in 1827, "49 wind-mills." After the flight of half a century, one single wind-mill remains within our borough, unfurling its sails at Chimney Mills, where the Town Moor and Leazes meet. With its light and graceful tower of trellis work, it had the famous Smeaton for its architect, who was called to the councils of the Corporation of Newcastle when the inundation of 1771 had overthrown Tyne Bridge, and who, dying in 1792, left behind him the Eddystone light-house as his characteristic monument.

While I write, I even hear of the survival, at Ryhope, near Sunderland, of an old stob-mill in hale longevity, exercising its limbs as lustily as we Midsummer lads saw them in motion, in long-gone school vacations, from Dobing's waggon, that made the overland journey from the Tees to the Wear at the deliberate pace of two miles an hour. What we call progress is not all gain. There was time, in those delightful holiday hours, to saunter a-head of the slow wain; pluck the wayside roses and woodbines, feast on the wild strawberries that were to be had for the gathering, and loiter along between the hedge-rows till the kindly waggoner picked us up on the road. "Ah, happy days," &c. The steed whose breath is steam carries not for wild fruit or flowers.

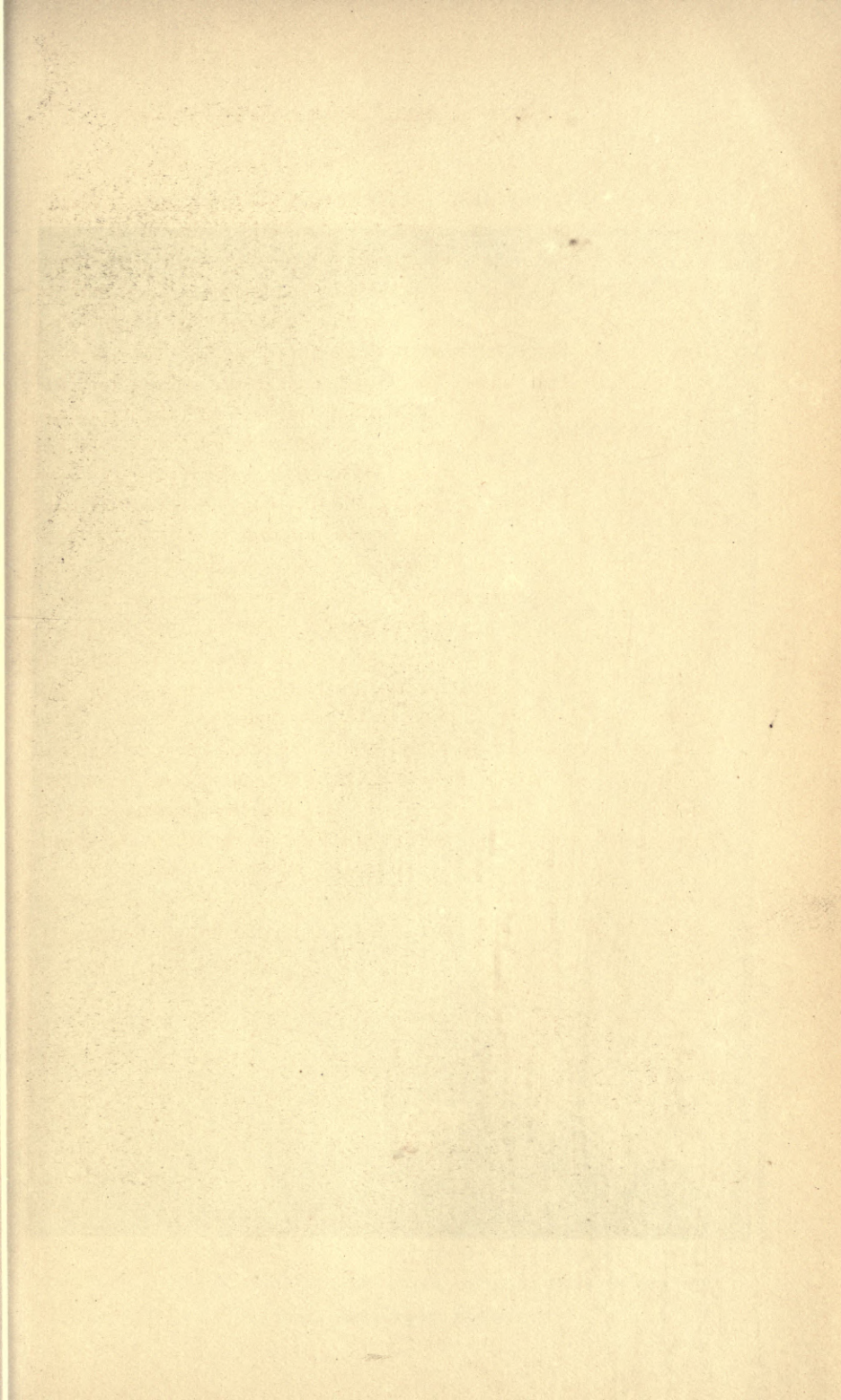
Ryhope and Burdon had their mill in 1183, rendering a mark to the revenues of Bishop Pudsey; and Ryhope mill remains in the days of Bishop Lightfoot. But not so the "stob" outside the walls of Newcastle, "described by William Matthew" in the days of James I.; nor either of the two stob-mills pictured by Charles Hutton in his map of 1771—one by pleasant Pandon Dene, the other in close neighbourhood at Stepney.

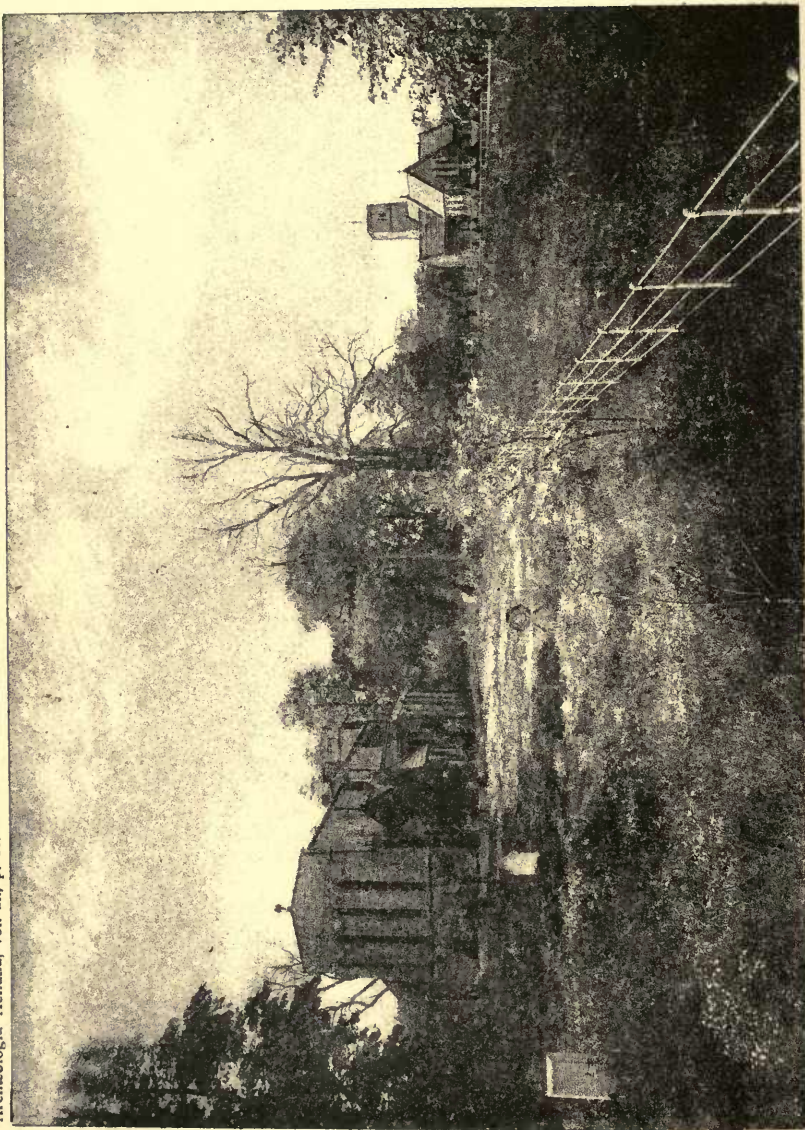
"Time, which perfects some things," took in hand the perfecting of the primitive mill-tower, that must be "set to the right quarter of the wind," like the weathercock in "Knickerbocker's New York." The wooden fort, that inflamed the ardour of the Knight of La Mancha, gave place, in reforming hands, to the stately erection, lofty and tapering, self-acting, automatic, independent; one of those evolutions of the human race, "seeking out many inventions," which lead the way to changes unforeseen, we know not what. Steam, evoked from coal, was summoned to the aid of wind and water by the ceaseless ingenuity

of man ; and the allied power becomes the greater. Wind and water, however, cling tenaciously to their hold. It is now as in the centuries to which the Professor of History in Edinburgh was inviting our attention in 1860 ; the older powers do not depart on the appearance of the younger. Hand and horse kept their place in the presence of the mill-race and the mill-sail ; and these abide when steam has come. "Time," says Bacon, "innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived." It has made an end of Prior Richard de Hoton's mill at Jarrow. The Benedictine priory on one side of the entrance to the Tyne, and the Roman station on the other, at its silent bidding have sunk to reverend ruin ; and it is now perfecting the great highway of human intercourse that rolls between. What scene is there, in this panoramic England of ours, that can surpass the pageant of the Tyne, with its appeals to the solemn and storied Past, the restless and progressive Present ? To the meditative mind, how full of thought a procession by steam from the Piers to the Swing Bridge—from the Prior's Haven and the Lawe, past Jarrow and Wallsend, to the Castle and the wandless Windmill Hills ! The swift steam-boat, that bears the thoughtful passenger over the tide, is conscious of its lineal descent from the adventurous craft that first plied between Newcastle and Shields seventy years ago ; and how proudly it now introduces the stranger to the new world that has flowed from the funnel ! Steam is in the ascendant. On land and sea flags are dipped to the reigning power. The steam-coach and steam-ship, donning the shoes of swiftness of the nursery tale, run the round world to a point. The steam-mill will toil, if need be, the whole circuit of the day, grinding with equal pace and even quality through every hour of the four-and-twenty ; unlike Mark Shafto's mill of the sixteenth century, whose sails flung down their alternate shadows on the "little gardens" of the Heugh, slow or swift as the unstable wind was in the humour.

The quaint author with whose words my paper begins awakes "the drums and tramlings of three conquests" that had rolled and trodden over the sepulchral urns exhumed in Norfolk in 1658. But countless are the conquests of time that have marched over the ancient abode of men where the members of the Archæological Institute are now assembled, race after race and generation upon generation effacing the footprints of their forerunners ; till the Painter Heugh, that type

of vicissitude and change, with its long-obliterated "lane" leading from the Dog Leap Stairs of the Castle Garth to the "Pencher Place" of the olden time, excels, in the eye of historic retrospect, the most ambitious unfoldings of the transformation scene of a pantomime. Interesting it is to trace the course of a country or a town through the ages, and pleasant to be cheered on the way by romance and tradition and song ; but what romance can equal the prosaic facts of history? Here, in this "New Castle upon Tyne," whose story has been told by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*, N.S., was not the venerable Keep of Henry II., that numbers the years of the *Boldon Book*, offered by newspaper advertisement in 1782, in no vein of satiric humour, but with an air of business gravity that moves our admiration, to any successor of Shafto in want of a convenient opening for a wind-mill? And who can muse, and not marvel, over the thought that the scattered walls of the Castle of the Conqueror, that gives the town its name, have seen the mill with revolving sails commencing its career in our northern land, and yielding up its supremacy to the all-conquering Steam that is now having its day. Must it, too, surrender its sceptre? The appropriate homes of the antiquaries in Newcastle—the Keep and the Black Gate—are of older date, as far as we can know, than the earliest wind-mill in the counties of Northumberland and Durham ; and it might be no proof of their presumption were they to indulge the dream of outliving, also, the empire of Steam ; its throne founded on that great antiquity, Coal, whose stores, however vast, are disappearing from under our feet, year by year, to feed the myriad fires of the passing day.





II.—NOTES ON BYWELL, A.D. 803-1884.

COMMUNICATED BY CANON DWARRIS, M.A., VICAR OF BYWELL ST. PETER.

[Read at Bywell, August 12th, 1884.]

THOUGH neither archæologist nor ecclesiologist, I venture to offer some brief notices of Bywell and its churches—such as, during my forty years incumbency, have, from one source or other, come to my knowledge, in hope that they may help to indicate points of interest, and may elicit observations and corrections from our learned and distinguished visitors.*

You have before you, almost without a village, the two churches of Bywell—Bywell St. Andrew with the tall tower in the open, Bywell St. Peter with the low tower among the trees. (See plate opposite.)

An official report of the date of Queen Elizabeth (survey by Sir W. Homberton, H.M. Commissioner, March 18, 1569) describes a long street then existing at Bywell, closed at either end by a gate; the residents, it tells us, were workers in metal—forgers and manufacturers of armour and of arms, of bits, spurs, and horse gear.

The story of two sisters (ladies of the manor) building the two churches because they could not agree to worship in the same—though rife in other parts of England, where, similarly, two churches stand side by side, with scarce as many houses for them to serve—is now pretty well exploded. I hope we are in these days nearer the mark in taking, as suggestion of a truer solution, though perhaps still dark, the *soubriquets* of BLACK Church and WHITE Church, which we find in the mouths of the oldest inhabitants, as distinguishing the churches of Bywell St. Peter and Bywell St. Andrew respectively; and with that clue in connecting their double existence with larger monastic establishments elsewhere, or with cells, it may be localized here, of “black” and “white” monks. Certainly, sooner or later, Bywell St. Peter (the “black” church) was connected closely with the Black Benedictine Monastery of Durham, in whose patronage it was until a month ago; and as for Bywell St. Andrew (the “white” church), about which less

* The Royal Archæological Institute.

is told in existing records, it undoubtedly had relations later, if not sooner, with the Præmonstratensian, or White Canons of BLANCHLAND, a parish which once stood within its own borders, and perhaps yet earlier with the Priory of Hexham, in whose patronage indeed it may be yet said to be, in the person of Mr. W. B. Beaumont, M.P., the lay impropiator of that Priory.

As regards the name of Bywell, for a time I fancied it arose from the Norman pronunciation of Balliol (*Bailleul*), in whose ancient Barony it stands; but one, whose name is honoured among archæologists, my late parishioner, John Hodgson Hinde, charged me to dismiss this notion, pointing out that the name was in use for this locality three centuries before the Balliols, as appears in the writings of the monk Symeon of Durham.

In his pages we find, I presume, the earliest notice of Bywell. In the year 803, on the 11th day of June (it is just, to be particular, one thousand and eighty-one years, two months, and one day since) a noticeable event, a striking and, probably to those engaged in it, a heart-stirring ceremonial took place in this retired nook of Bywell. The Archbishop of York of that day, and two of his suffragans, with other bishops, met by appointment in Bywell—*Biguell* (was it BY the holy WELL?) for the consecration of the twelfth Bishop of Lindisfarne.

The consecrating Archbishop was EANBALD, a man known as the pupil and correspondent of the famous Alcuin, instructor of Charlemagne. We have it on record that Alcuin had written with freedom to his old friend, this Archbishop, remonstrating with him among other things (for there is nothing new under the sun) on the hunting propensities of the Yorkshire parsons. The bishop here consecrated on that memorable day to the succession (perilous in those Danish times) to the see of Lindisfarne was EGBERT—as I reckon, the twelfth bishop. The fact that he was consecrated under the remote and quiet shades of Bywell, and only nineteen days after the death of Higbald, his predecessor, seems to bespeak the necessity the times imposed both for secrecy and for hurry. This was A.D. 803.

I have the authority of records* preserved in the Monastery of

* Such documents as I have before me in putting together these notes are to be found in Sydney Gibson's *Tynemouth*, and Hodgson's *Northumberland* having been extracted by my friend and former curate, Rev. A. Johnson, Vicar of Healey, a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. I had a rare opportunity so long ago as in 1845. The Rev. Joseph Stevenson, of the London Record

Durham for most of what I shall further advance ; but treading on unfamiliar ground, I throughout speak under correction.

I cannot tell how the sooth may be,
I tell the tale as 'twas told to me.

It appears that already before the Conquest the Saxon Earls of Northumberland had conveyed the rectory and rectorial tithes of Bywell to the monastery at Tynemouth.

Bywell St. Peter has been treated somewhat as a shuttlecock from the time of being thus, before the Conquest, made an appanage of Tynemouth, until a certain recent day in July, 1884, when, by the Newcastle Chapter Act, just passed, the patronage of it was transferred from the Dean and Chapter of Durham to the Archdeacon of Northumberland and his successors for ever.

In the year 1074, that is presently after the Rectory of Bywell St. Peter had been given to Tynemouth, it would seem that the Monastery of Tynemouth itself, with all its lands and possessions, was made over by WALTHER, Earl of Northumberland, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, who were then sheltering themselves in the Monastery of St. Paul, at Jarrow. Not long after, Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Tynemouth (Bywell withal) were transferred by William de Carilef, the great bishop of that day, to the Monastery of Durham, when he was intruding regular monks into the place of the seculars he had found there.

These transferences of endowments were generally made with much solemnity, by charter, signed and sealed in the presence of high dignitaries (whether Saxon or Norman) in church and state.

A pretty quarrel which, as years passed over, was to wax hotter and hotter, and to be ended only by a formal Papal adjudication, grew out of this latter transfer of Tynemouth to Durham ; and in the course of it Bywell St. Peter was more than once bandied backwards and forwards.

The earlier Norman Earls of Northumberland appear, indeed, in the first instance to have acquiesced in the arrangement ; but not so long after, in 1090, ill-blood had risen between the Norman Northumberland Earl, Robert de Mowbray, and the Prince Bishop of Durham, William de Carilef. The chronicler ascribes the high-

Office, was then engaged for the Dean and Chapter of Durham in sorting their manuscripts in the Treasury of the Cathedral, and he set in one corner for me a budget relating to Bywell, to which I had been recently appointed ; but alas ! both time and expertness in deciphering old manuscripts failed me, and, as in other cases of yet more serious moment, a golden opportunity slipped away from me, not easily to be recovered.

handed action which followed to the *animus* thus excited. "Propter inimicitias quæ inter episcopum et illum agitabatur," says he, De Mowbray, with a high hand, sent soldiers and drove out the St. Cuthbert monks from Tynemouth, and introduced into that monastery monks from the far southern abbey of St. Albans.

Before railways, one would think it "a far cry" from St. Alban's in Hertfordshire to Bywell in Northumberland, that they should thus shake hands across the Midlands! but

"Misery acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows."

For a time we must suppose Bywell Rectory resting in the hands of St. Albans.

In 1100, however, some ten years later, Richard, the abbot of St. Albans (was it in some generous mood?), compounded with Durham to accept thirty shillings per annum as a sufficient acknowledgment of his title to the lands and other possessions of Tynemouth, reserving only to himself Amble and Coquet Island, with the Rectories of Bywell St. Peter and of Woodhorn. This covenant may have held for a time. But some fifty years later again we find the conflict between Durham and St. Albans for the possession of Tynemouth still aflame; and at last, in A.D. 1174, it was referred to the Pope's arbitration. The Pope (Alexander III., the well-known contemporary of our Thomas Becket) nominated a high commission, consisting of Roger, Bishop of Worcester, Robert, Dean of York, and John, Treasurer of the church of Exeter; and these high commissioners, by their award, ultimately sanctioned a compromise, the effect of which was that the *status quo* instead of being maintained was turned right round, requiring, that is, that the prior and whole convent of Durham "shall give up for ever to the Monastery of St. Alban's the Church of Tynemouth with all its appurtenances;" but on the other hand, that the abbot and brethren of St. Alban's should, "in consideration of the aforesaid renunciation," grant to the Church of Durham, for ever, the Church of "Bywella," saving the right of Salamon, priest, as long as he shall live, and the Church of Edlingham. There is a further reservation, viz., that half the proceeds of the tithes of the said churches (Bywell and Edlingham) shall be dedicated for ever to maintaining the lights always burning at the shrine of St. Cuthbert in Durham.

This compromise and award proved a settlement of that long-standing dispute; and was confirmed by charters from all hands,

notably by Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, on the church's side, and on the lay side by Eustace de Balliol, and his son, Hugh de Balliol. This adjudication was done at Warwick, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1174, and the day before the Ides of November.

Once more in 1307 the manors of Bywell and Woodhorn, formerly possessions of the Priory of Tynemouth, were granted to John, Earl of Brittany, styled in the record "the king's nephew."

Such later notices as I have seen respecting Bywell St. Peter relate principally to arrangements between the Priors of Durham and the Parsons of Bywell for provision of temporal maintenance for the vicars, and of spiritual ministrations to the people.

In A.D. 1287 an altar of St. John Baptist (with a chaplain thereto) was endowed by one Deacon William, of Bywell. This, I conceive, is to be looked for at the east end of the south aisle of St. Peter's Church, the present organ chamber, not in the elegant fourteenth century chantry chapel on the north side.

In 1290 a chantry, with resident chaplain, was endowed at Newton, in the parish of Bywell St. Peter, by Sir Robert de l'Isle, reserving all rights to the mother church.

In regard to the architectural date of the two churches, I may state that Mr. J. H. Parker, at a meeting here with our friend, Mr. R. J. Johnson, some three years since, was disposed to assign the first twenty years of the eleventh century for the date of the tower of Bywell St. Andrew, and likewise of the most ancient portion of Bywell St. Peter.

At St. Peter's there are two bells, of which Mr. C. J. Bates has supplied the following description:—

"There are two bells in the tower, both about two feet wide at the mouth and the same in height, the eastern one, if anything, the larger. On this eastern bell is the raised inscription, in large Gothic capitals of the Perpendicular period—

+ UTSURGANTGENTESVOCORHORNETCITOJACÊTES.

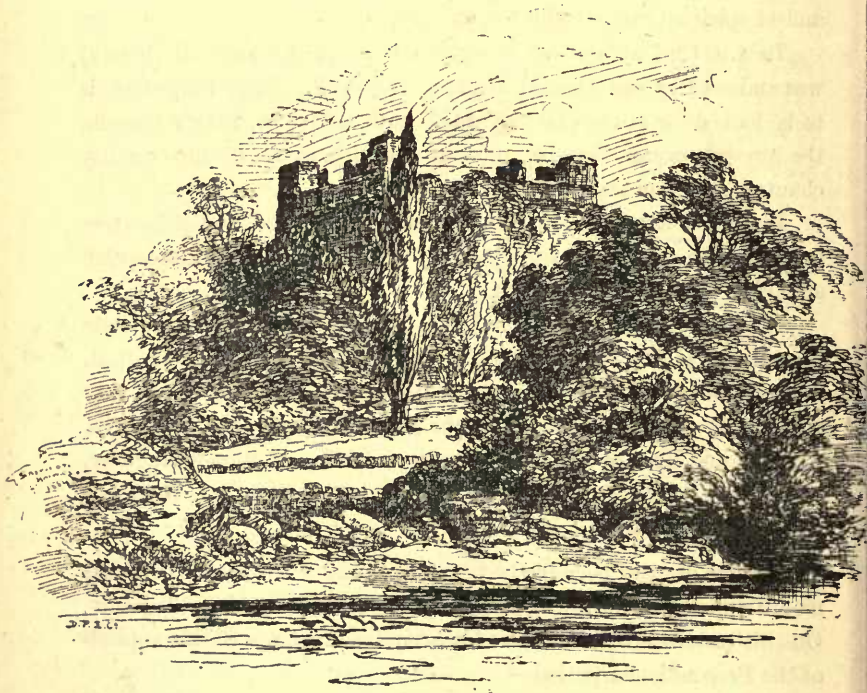
This is evidently a monkish hexameter verse, although there is a false quantity in it, the 'i' in 'cito' being short. It can hardly be meant that the bell was called 'the Hornet' from its faculty of virulently waking up the sluggards of Bywell. Probably the whole legend is faulty, and was to have read 'Ut surgant gentes voco horam et cito jacentes'—(I proclaim the hour for people rising, and summon those

still in bed). This bell then was probably rung at sunrise, and is still rung on Sunday mornings at eight. The western bell bears the words—

+ TU ES: PETRUS +

followed by the letters of the alphabet.”

We have a silver chalice of about the year 1680, standing 8 inches high, with “Bywell St^d Petri” cut on it in a cursive hand. The stalk is broken, and the mark WR occurs twice on the bottom. The mark, a well-known one of a Newcastle goldsmith, appears in a larger form on some of the church plate of St. Nicholas’s.



Our registers of births, deaths, and marriages date from 1663.

Speaking of the church of Bywell St. Peter, I would invite the attention of archæologists to the so-called “leper window:” to the springers of arches, or of arched buttresses, on the north wall of the chantry chapel: also to the fragment of a village cross.

We have reason to thank God for the preservation of our churches, and of our lives, through the fearful thunderstorm which raged here on

Saturday evening last, and which has, I fear, seriously damaged the venerable ash tree, which, from its size and age, has been a source of pride to the village, and which scarcely spared—inflicting a superficial scratch only—the venerable tower of St. Andrews.

Of Bywell Castle I have only to say that it is described in Camden's *Britannia* as the "fair Castle of Biwell;" that it possibly occupies the site of a more ancient "BALIOL TOWER;" that the present erection is ascribed to Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, in 1480; and that the grated iron doorway frame in it, opening on the spiral staircase by which the tower is ascended, has been made the subject of illustration, and of contrast with the prevailing construction of corresponding defensive *grilles* on the other side of the border, indicating the little intercommunication that existed, in a paper recently read before the Scotch Antiquaries, by Dr. David Christison, F.S.A., Scot. In the Scotch examples the bars interpenetrate one another; in the English, though only just across the border (at Naworth, at Dalston, at Bywell), the uprights are all in the front of the horizontals, rivetted and clasped alternately, and the spaces between the perpendicular bars are filled with oak planks.

The Rev. Thos. Randal, B.A., in his valuable *State of Churches in Northumberland*, mentions a chapel dedicated to St. Helena in one (he knew not which) of our two parishes. Popular tradition points for its site to the field opposite the castle, across the river. To this the old foot-bridge, whose ruined piers were destroyed forty years ago, to make way for the existing bridge, was supposed to have led.

III.—ON THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF ST. CUTHBERT.

BY THE REV. J. L. LOW.

[Read on November 26th, 1884.]

It is a very noticeable fact that, in the present day, there is a great change in the feeling with which the saints of old are regarded. Take, for example, the first and the sixth Bishops of Lindisfarne. They are now everywhere looked upon with respect and veneration. Yet only a very short while ago, St. Aidan's name was hardly known, except to a very few; while the name of St. Cuthbert could scarcely be mentioned without exciting a smile. Whence did this arise, but from ignorance as to St. Cuthbert's true character on the one hand, and on the other from the absurd and sometimes profane legends which in the course of ages had gathered round his name?

Now there are two nearly contemporary lives of St. Cuthbert, from which we learn that he was a man of great holiness, consistency, and simplicity of character, at the same time exhibiting signs of great wisdom and discretion. One of these lives is by an unnamed monk of his own monastery of Lindisfarne, who, of course, must have had the best opportunities of knowing all the facts connected with his history. The other is by the Venerable Bede. Of this there are two versions, one in verse, the other in prose. Some have supposed that Bede was partly indebted to the monk of Lindisfarne, for we are to remember that he himself had no connection with Lindisfarne, any more than he had with York. He lived and died in the diocese of Hexham, and he tells us himself that he was ordained both deacon and priest by Bishop John. The diocese of St. Cuthbert had the river Aln for its southern boundary,* which, as we all know, is at a considerable distance from Jarrow. Bede was probably about fourteen years of age when St. Cuthbert died.

* Prior Richard's *History of the Church of Hexham*, cap. vi.

After these two writers there is a complete blank of four hundred years, till we come to Symeon of Durham. He is supposed to have died about 1135, that is to say, about the same length of time after the death of the Venerable Bede as the interval between the present year and the reign of Richard III; and it is to be borne in mind what manner of time these four centuries were. At their commencement the kingdom of Northumbria was rapidly declining. It was, in fact, becoming a constant scene of rebellion, treachery, and bloodshed. Then, fifty-eight years after the death of Bede, came the first inroad of the Danes into Northumbria, when Lindisfarne suffered most severely. Eighty-two years later came the second invasion, when the Bishop and the monks finally abandoned the Holy Isle. It was, emphatically, the dark age of the Church of England, especially in the North. There was little peace or order in the realm until it fell under the iron hand of the Conqueror, and the clergy had deteriorated most woefully, both in learning and morals. If we consider all this, the question most naturally arises, can we trust any additions which we find in later writers to the narratives of the two almost contemporary biographers? Let us apply this question in one or two instances. In one of his notes to *Marmion*,* Sir Walter Scott says, in reference to his unhistorical establishment of a nunnery at Lindisfarne, "It is altogether fictitious. Indeed, St. Cuthbert was unlikely to permit such an establishment, for . . . he certainly hated the whole female sex, and in revenge of a slippery trick played to him by an Irish princess, he, after his death, inflicted severe penances on such as presumed to approach within a certain distance of his shrine." Now there can be no question that many such stories were told, nor is there any doubt that for many ages women were not permitted to enter the Abbey of Durham. But there is not the least hint of any such feeling on the part of St. Cuthbert, either in the *Life* by the Venerable Bede, or in that by the monk of Lindisfarne. On the contrary, there are many indications of his consideration and tenderness towards women, especially in distress. We find him visiting the Abbess Ebba at Coldingham;† leaving his retreat in Farne to give Elfreda, the Abbess of Whitby,‡ a meeting on the Coquet Island; while a part of his directions while dying§ was that his body was to be

* Canto ii., st. 19. † Bæd. *Vit. S. Cuthb.*, c. 10. ‡ *Ib.*, c. 24. § *Ib.*, c. 37.

wrapped in a linen cloth which had been given to him by the Abbess Verea. Perhaps these things may not be altogether inconsistent with the alleged exclusion of women from his churches; but they certainly look the other way. The first intimation of anything of the kind occurs in Symeon of Durham, who flourished four hundred and fifty years after St. Cuthbert's death. It is not to be doubted that, when Symeon wrote, there was such a restriction in force, and the blue cross beyond which women were not allowed to pass, is still to be seen in Durham Cathedral. Even this was a relaxation, for it appears from Symeon that in his day they were not allowed in the churchyard, or in any part of the monastery. He gives several instances of judgments which befel intruders, and his contemporary, Reginald of Durham, supplies us with more. But four hundred and fifty years is a very long time. The Cathedral had been in the meanwhile removed from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street, and from Chester-le-street to Durham, and the original church at Durham had been replaced by the grand church which now exists. There was abundance of time for the Prior and Convent to institute the rule, and then to impute its origin to St. Cuthbert. Symeon, too, undertakes to tell us* the particular fact which led St. Cuthbert to impose the restriction, and it is not the slippery*trick of the Irish princess, a legend which is quite unworthy of notice, but the disorders which, after the death of St. Cuthbert's friend, St. Ebba, prevailed in her Abbey of Coldingham; which would have been a good reason for the Bishop to forbid double monasteries, but by no means a reason for forbidding women to resort to church. Surely, considering the silence of the old biographers, not to say that their testimony in other ways tends rather in the contrary direction, we may fairly discard Symeon's account of the origin of the usage.

There is nothing on which Bede dwells with greater pleasure, or insists on more earnestly, than the entire unselfishness and unworldliness of the early Bishops. He tells of St. Aidan, that whatever money he received from kings, or from rich men, was immediately given to the poor, or used for the redemption of captives;† especially he notes that St. Aidan had no possessions of his own, save his church and some small fields adjoining to it. The Scottish teachers in general, he tells us, were so free from all taint of avarice, that none of them would

* Sym. *Dunelm. Eccles.*, c. xxii. † Bæd. *Hist. Eccles.*, iii., c. 7.

accept lands or possessions for the building of monasteries unless they were forced to do so by the powerful of the world.* St. Cuthbert was a Saxon, not a Scot (*i.e.* Irish), but he was the pupil of St. Eata and St. Boisil, Aidan's immediate disciples, and we should expect him to be like his teachers. Accordingly, we have not the least hint from Bede or the monk of Lindisfarne that he ever, before or after his consecration to the episcopate, acquired any landed property, unless we are so to construe the highly figurative language in which Bede describes his taking possession of the islet of Farne :†—"When having routed the host of the tyrants (the fiends who infested the island) he became the monarch of the land, he built therein a city fit for his empire, and houses therein equally suited to the city." We are, therefore, somewhat surprised to learn from Symeon that, at his consecration as Bishop, King Egfrid gave to St. Cuthbert, in the presence of Theodore the Archbishop, a large part of the city of York :‡—"All the land from the wall of the church of St. Peter to the great gate westwards, and from the wall of the church itself to the wall of the city southward; also the vill of Crayke, and three miles around it, that when going to York, or returning, he might have a dwelling in which to rest. There he set up a monastery; and, because this land was not sufficient, he received, in augmentation, Carlisle with fifteen miles around it, where also he established a monastery (in which the Queen afterwards put on the religious habit), and also instituted schools for the advancement of the service of God." Now it is notorious that Crayke was, till very recent times, a possession of the Bishops of Durham, and according to Symeon, who may well be trusted for a fact so near his own time, St. Cuthbert's body rested there just before its final arrival at Durham.§ Moreover, Bede tells us of at least two occasions|| on which St. Cuthbert visited Carlisle, where he exercised his episcopal functions. But he has not one word of any landed possessions being given to St. Cuthbert, there or anywhere else. The example of St. Aidan, and his own antecedents, would lead us to the belief that if any such had been offered, they would

* Bæd. *Hist. Eccles.*, iii., 26.

† Bæd. *Vit. S. C.*, xvii.

‡ Sym. *Dunelm, Eccl.*, c. ix.

§ In mentioning this, Symeon speaks of the monastery in a vill which was once his own, "*sua quondam villa.*"—Sym. *Dunelm, Eccl.*, c., xxvii.

|| *Vit. St. Cuth.*, cc. xxvii., xxviii.

have been refused, for it is to be noted that Egfrid's donation is quite of a different character from the gift of small parcels of ground for the erection of monasteries. On the other hand, it is quite certain that by the time Symeon wrote, the Bishops and the Convent of Durham had become very eager to acquire landed property, many particulars of which are given by Symeon, and the Bishops and the Convent could not agree about their respective shares; nay, there is too much reason to fear that sometimes the monks did not hesitate to fabricate documents. Indeed, there is no doubt that this very case supplies an instance of fabrication, for we actually have a copy of the deed by which King Egfrid conveyed Crayke and Carlisle to St. Cuthbert. It is surely most strange that all this seems to have been unknown to Bede or the monk of Lindisfarne, though it is not by any means necessary to charge Symeon with the invention. The belief may have grown up in the dark times which preceded his day. But it certainly seems as if we might use our own discretion as to whether we accept it as history or not.

It is not perhaps necessary, on this occasion, to enter on the question of St. Cuthbert's miracles, but one or two remarks may be permitted. And first, it may be noticed that they have sometimes been spoken of in a most exaggerated strain. For example, one to whom we all feel that we are under great obligations, whose memory we all cherish with respect, the late Dr. Raine, in his *North Durham*, speaking of St. Cuthbert's retirement in Farne, says:—"Here he continued for nine years to practice every austerity which misguided zeal could impose, and, as the *dulce levamen* of his leisure hours, to exert his supernatural powers upon the most trifling occasions. I pass by a whole myriad of miracles, from his cure of Aelfled to the story of the crows and their hog's lard." Again, after his consecration, "He now performed his miracles with greater facility and greater frequency." There is an unpleasant tone about these words, but what is most to be noticed is, "a whole myriad of miracles." A myriad is supposed to represent ten thousand, though it is frequently used to signify a very large number. Now the whole number of *marvels* in *Bede's Prose Life* is about forty, a large portion of which might more properly be called remarkable incidents than miracles. Of these forty, nine belong to the retirement in Farne, that is, on an

average, one for every year. Twelve belong to his episcopate, five are posthumous, and two do not belong to him at all but to his master, St. Boisil. One of the posthumous ones is the state in which his body was found, eleven years after his death, which Dr. Raine is good enough to think not at all improbable.

In considering this subject, we are bound to remember that the faith of our forefathers was then in its first fervour, for the death of St. Cuthbert took place just about fifty years after the first preaching of the gospel by St. Aidan. Men had just become acquainted with all the marvellous works which God had wrought in old times by the instrumentality of his servants. Their minds were, therefore, just in a condition to expect the recurrence of like wonders. And when people get into a way of looking for such things they are very apt to believe that they have met with them. Besides this, many of the things recorded by Bede might be paralleled by well authenticated instances in or near our own time—such as the dream in which, on the night of St. Aidan's death, St. Cuthbert saw the soul of a righteous man carried up to heaven, and his presentiment at Carlisle as to the defeat and death of King Egfrid. It may be remarked that many of the marvellous stories are full of beauty, such as the dealings of the solitary with the lower animals.

As to the healing of the sick, modes of speech still linger amongst us which, while the word *miracle* is avoided, still recognise the interposition of God's merciful hand. No one would be disposed to sneer if he heard a pious and affectionate mother say of the unexpected return of a dear child from the gates of death, "God granted him to our prayers." Especially are such wonders to be heard of when the minds of men are much excited by passing events, or in times of unusual religious fervour. A book recording the acts and sufferings of the Scottish Covenanters in the seventeenth century—the *Scots Worthies*, which was common enough in Scotland in my younger days—and, for aught I know, may be met with in Northumbrian cottages even now—contains many most marvellous incidents. John Wesley in his *Journal*, while he seems carefully to avoid the word *miracle* gives many narratives which are little short of those which Bede gives of St. Cuthbert. I may notice one which took place in this city, perhaps not far from where we are now met. It was on his second visit to

Newcastle, and the weather was very severe, for it was the depth of winter. A friend of his, who was with him, became so ill that he was given up by the physicians. His extremities were cold, and it seemed as if he could not live over the night. He was insensible, but they prayed *over* him. He opened his eyes, and called for Mr Wesley, and from that time he continued to recover, till he was restored to perfect health. "I wait to hear," says Mr. Wesley, "who will either disprove this fact, or philosophically account for it." There is little difference between Mr. Wesley and the Venerable Bede, except that the former does not use the word *miracle*, and Bede throws out no challenge to unbelievers.

All St. Cuthbert's marvellous acts, as given by Bede, are acts of love and mercy, resembling in character, if we may say so reverently, the miracles of the New Testament. But when we part company with the Venerable Bede, and come to later writers, such as Symeon and Reginald, the case is very different. Works of mercy are not wanting, but there are many of a vindictive character—dire punishments inflicted on invaders of the property of the Saint, that is, of the convent; or on women who presumed to intrude into his church or churchyard.* The earth opens at Norham and swallows up many thousands of Scots who had invaded the territory of the Saint in North Durham.† A rustic going to a fair at Durham, with a horse for sale, allows the animal to attack some sheaves of corn in a field belonging to the convent. The bailiff expostulates. They both become abusive, and the horse falls down dead.‡ It is satisfactory to find that the man becomes a penitent. A lady at Durham is returning from an evening party, with her husband; the street is miry, and they go into the churchyard; the husband escapes, being a man; his wife falls down senseless, and is carried home to die.§ David, King of Scots, married Maud, Countess of Huntingdon. In passing northward,|| the Queen stops at Durham; she wishes to see the church, but is content to forego her wish when she is told that it cannot be permitted. Not so one of her ladies, whose curiosity is not to be baulked. She puts on

* Sym. *Dunelm, Eccl.*, c. xxvi.

† *Hist. Transl. St. Cuth.*, iv. p. 167 (Surtees Soc.)

‡ *Hist. Transl. S. C.*, viii., 173, Reginald, c. lxxiii. p. 149.

§ Sym., *Dunelm, Eccl.*, c. xxiii.

|| Reginald, cap. lxxiv.

a monk's dress, and gets as far as the door of the church. The Saint becoming aware of her presence, in great wrath calls the sacrist, and, in terms which cannot be called anything but bad language, commands him to expel the intruder. In great anger, the sacrist institutes a search, finds at last the poor trembling girl, assails her with a torrent of abuse, which shows that he had learned one lesson, at least, from St. Cuthbert, and expels her from the sacred precincts. In terror and compunction she takes the veil at Elstow, near Bedford. Certainly, St. Cuthbert owes little gratitude to his later historians. The St. Cuthbert of Symeon and Reginald is a totally different being from the St. Cuthbert of the Venerable Bede and the monk of Lindisfarne. There can be no question which is the more attractive picture, and it is quite needless to say which appears most in accordance with truth. In fact, if we are to believe Bede, and the monk of Lindisfarne, and also Symeon and Reginald, it is plain that St. Cuthbert's character must have changed very much for the worse after his death. Yet Symeon, in other respects, is a most valuable link in the historical chain; and, notwithstanding all his absurdities and his intricate and inflated style, Reginald presents many most valuable historical details, and many most interesting pictures of mediæval life and manners.

These remarks on the miracles of St. Cuthbert, as narrated by later writers, such as Symeon and Reginald, may possibly serve to guide us in some degree as to the credit which is to be attached to their testimony with respect to incidents in the life of St. Cuthbert, or connected with it, which are not recorded by the Venerable Bede or the monk of Lindisfarne.

My thesis has been that we may fairly use our own discretion with respect to such matters as what Sir Walter Scott calls his hatred of the whole female sex, and also with regard to the enormous donation said to have been conferred on St. Cuthbert when he was consecrated to the episcopate. It is quite certain that Crayke came into the possession of the Bishops at some time or other, but I am not aware of any corroboration anywhere of the gift of the City of Carlisle and fifteen miles round it, that is, something between a hundred and ten and a hundred and twenty thousand acres, not of much value perhaps in those days, but still a possession of very great extent. One cannot help thinking of Constantine and Pope Sylvester. Is Egfrid's gift to

St. Cuthbert to be sought for where Ariosto places Constantine's donation to the Pope—in the moon? I will not say I have proved my point. Indeed my object has rather been to raise a question than to prove anything, and I hope I may flatter myself that what I have brought forward is not altogether unworthy of notice. As to the miracles, most persons will, of course, withhold their belief as to those acts which really appear to be of that character; but there is a wide difference between respectfully thinking that such a man as the Venerable Bede may have been somewhat credulous, and on the other hand adopting an exaggerated tone as to the number of such occurrences, so as to give an excuse for treating the story with ridicule. Neither the Venerable Bede nor St Cuthbert can, with justice, be called a weak or a vain man, and neither of them is a fit subject for ridicule or drollery.

IV.—ON INSCRIPTIONS AT JARROW AND MONKWEAR- MOUTH.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.,
ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

[Read on October 29th, 1884.]

1.—The Jarrow inscription, *In hoc singular[ian]no vita redditur mundo*
(Hübner* 199).

THIS is an inscription in early letters 2 to 2½ inches long, on either side of the raised shaft of a cross on a stone now built into the north porch of Bede's Church at Jarrow. It is unlikely that such a statement should have been appended to a sepulchral inscription, and at the early date indicated by the character of the monument it is unlikely that a sepulchral inscription would state the year of death; nor would there be room in the upper angles of the cross (which are now lost, having been on another stone) for an inscription setting forth the name of a deceased person and the year of his death. The dedication stone of the Church† states that the dedication was in the 15th year of King Egfrid and the 4th of Abbat Ceolfrid (A.D. 684). The letters of the inscription are of exactly the same size as those on the dedication stone, and of the sixteen letters of the alphabet in the inscription fourteen are found on the dedication stone, and all in the same form, though three of them, A, E, and O, are found in two forms on the dedication stone. Thus a connection between the two is very probable, judging only from the two inscriptions. In assigning a meaning to the phrase "in this marked year life is restored to the world," after exhausting other suggestions, the idea of the cessation of some great devastation by plague or otherwise remains as the simplest and most probable. Bede (*Hist. Abb.* c. 8) says that Benedict Biscop made Eosterwini Abbat of Wearmouth, and then went for the fifth time to Rome. He returned to find sad news. Eosterwini and a crowd of his monks had died of a pestilence which raged through the whole country. Bede tells us further (c. 11) that Eosterwini had been four years Abbat, and (c. 8) that Ceolfrith was made Abbat of Jarrow

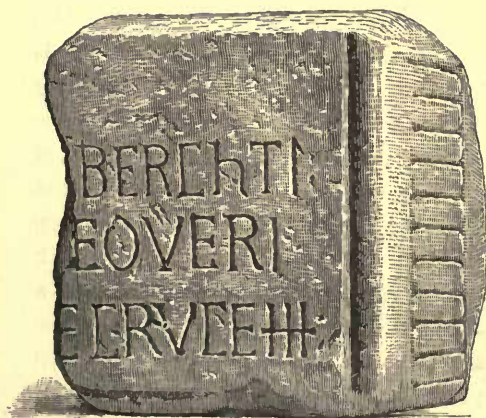
* *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae; Berolini*, 1876.

† See woodcut at page 199 of the *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. X.

on the eve of Benedict's fifth visit to Rome, and (c. 11, c. 12) that three years after Eosterwini's death Ceolfrith had been seven years Abbat. Thus the fourth year of Ceolfrith was the fourth year of Eosterwini, and the dedication of Jarrow Church took place in the year in which Eosterwini and a crowd of his monks died in a general pestilence, which is not mentioned after that year. Hence, in pious memory of the deliverance from the pestilence, *in hoc singulari anno vita redditur mundo*. It is well known that a cross was a necessary part of the dedication of a Church; and William of Malmesbury, speaking of Aldhelm's dedication of Malmesbury Church a few years after this of Jarrow, says that it was usual to mark the occasion by some *honorificum epigramma*.

It is an interesting fact (or probability), first pointed out by the Rev. J. R. Boyle, that the stone, 2 feet square, with the inscription *Omnium Fil.... Hadr.*, taken from the wall of Jarrow Church and now in the Black Gate at Newcastle, seems to have been placed like an oven shelf next above the stone under discussion, for it has on its edge the arms of a cross which must at least closely resemble those of the cross whose shaft is on the stone in the porch. The gauge is almost exactly the same, though not quite, and the cable moulding observable on the porch stone is carried across the edge of the Roman stone. These arms of the cross are shewn in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.*

2.—The Jarrow inscription: ...berhti: ...edveri: ...c crucem
(Hübner 200).



This inscription is on a rectangular stone found in the walls of Jarrow Church, and is now in the Museum at Newcastle. Though the stone appears to be one end of a rectangular slab, with an inscription in three lines ending as above, it is found on examination of the back of the stone that it has been the arm of a cross with the

* Page 277, No. 539. And the *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. X., page 196.

usual circular indentations at the angles. The arm has been broken off where the curve commences. Its dimensions are $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches horizontally, and about 9 vertically, so that the cross has been of a somewhat stunted form. Taking the head to be of the same dimensions as the arms, and making due allowance for the curvature of the circular openings, the whole width from arm to arm must have been about 25 inches, and deducting $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the bands and grooves which run round the arms, there would be $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches for each line of the inscription. About an inch is occupied by the stops at the end of the first and third lines, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the end of the second. The letters which remain are of such a size (exclusive of the M) that six occupy about $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and thus there would be from 28 to 29 ordinary letters in each line; there is no gap between the *c* and *crucem*, so that the words ran on continuously, and spaces have not to be considered. Above the top line of the three there is a considerable blank space, just the same space as below the middle line, so that there would have been exactly room for another line of inscription above the present three. The conclusion is irresistible that there was a short line of letters occupying the central part of the cross above the three lines, and not reaching so far as the arms. For this short line there would be about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to the point where the present arm is broken off. There is at York, on a shaft of a cross, *ad memoriam sanctorum*. This suggests *ad memoriam* for the short line. The M in the Jarrow *crucem* occupies so much space that three such letters would be equivalent to five average letters, and thus *ad memoriam* would occupy about $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This just fits the space, and it accounts for the genitives ...*berchti...edveri*. Hübner (176) states with regard to the York inscription that it is impossible to determine what were the letters of which there are remains at the top of the fractured stone. After a close examination, I am satisfied that one was the base of a D and the other two of H or IT, with space for two more letters in the same line. This would give DIT[VR], and the whole may have run *hæc cruz conditur ad memoriam sanctorum*, the idea of *condere aram* being probably familiar to residents in York at a time when Alcuin boasted of the Roman remains in the midst of which they lived. Following this form, and taking it that the genitives at the end of two lines of the inscription indicate the commemoration of several persons, and that the cross was

erected by the brethren of Jarrow, the last line—which had room for from 28 to 29 ordinary letters, say 27 and an M—may have been *fratres condiderunt hanc crucem*, and the whole inscription to take names almost haphazard from the "*Liber Vitæ*":—

[ADMEMORIAM]

[BADUMUNDICOENREDICYNI]BERCHTI ::

[BEORNHEARDIBAEDAEBRONI]EDVERI :

[FRATRESCONIDERUNTHAN]CCRUCEM ::

If any one prefers it, *Sanctorum* may take the place of *Badumundi*. The party of monks thus commemorated on one cross may have died in the pestilence, or may have been the victims of some accident. The ungrammatical Welsh epitaph *Senacus Prsb hic jacit cum multitudinem fratrū* may have had a like origin. Bede relates how a whole boat-load of monks were almost drowned out at sea, off the mouth of the other Tyne. The formula suggested for the cross would be suitable for an accident where the sea refused to allow the survivors to use the words *Hic requiescunt in corpore*.

3.—The Monkwearmouth inscription, *Hic in sepulchro requiescit corpore Hereberecht Prb* (Hübner 197).

This is an inscription on a stone carrying a somewhat stiff cross, now in the vestry at Monkwearmouth. It was found at the time of the restoration of the church, below the floor of the west Porch, the spot where the earliest abbats were buried and whence they were removed by Eosterwini to be laid by the side of Benedict Biscop at the north side of the Sacrarium. The first five words of the inscription are all of one style, the letters beautifully drawn and cut. The *Hereberecht Prb* is not so well cut. Below it are two faint parallel lines, the distance between them being exactly the same as the length of the original bold letters, shewing apparently that the first workman cut the formula and graved lines for carrying the name when the stone should come to be used. There have been smaller letters on the space now occupied by *Hereberecht Prb* and they have been erased by scraping away a considerable amount of the surface of the stone, forming a concave surface on which the *Hereberecht Prb* is incised.

In Wales, where Christianity did not die out after the Romans left Britain, the ordinary formula was *hic jacit*, rarely *jacet*. There seems

to be only one Welsh case of *requiescere* being used, and in that case it is the *anima* not the *corpus*, and the reading is more probably *requies[cat]* than (with Hübner 151) *requicit*. The Irish form seems to be "A prayer for so-and-so," or "Pray for so-and-so." When we come to the epitaphs preserved in Bede's writings we find that Hereberecht's epitaph followed the accepted form. It will be observed that the differences in the formulæ of the different churches is one not of form only but of principle. The first English case is naturally that of Augustine of Kent, who died in the year 604. His epitaph is given by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (II. 3). It is in prose, and commences with the words *Hic requiescit*, a well-known formula in the Catacombs. Coming nearer to Hereberecht's time, we find (V. 8) the epitaph of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, who died in 690. It is in verse, and Bede gives the first four and the last four of the thirty-four verses of which it consisted. The first verse is *Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul*. Coming down a little later, we find (V. 19) the epitaph of Wilfrith of Ripon, Hexham, and York. It, too, is in verse, and the first verse is *Vilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore præsul*. It may be added that when Bede is writing of Whithern in Galloway, he says that there Ninian *corpore requiescit*. Thus there is every reason to suppose that *Hic in sepulchro requiescit corpore* was the form adopted in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, where the influence of Bede's work in such matters must have been very great. At Whitchurch (Hants.) is a very interesting early monument with the bust of a woman and graceful interlacing decoration of the spiral character, with the inscription *Hic corpus Fri(g)burgae requiescit in pacem sepultum*. Hübner reads Friðburgae, and leaves space for a word after *pace*; in the latter case, there is only an *M*. It may be noted that William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pont. Angl.* V. 191) gives a copy of the letter written to Aldhelm by an Irish exile in France, begging him to send some of his short sermons to the place *ubi domnus Furseus in sancto et integro pausat corpore*, i.e. Peronne (Bede, *H. E.* III. 19). The Christians of those times did not mean by this form of inscription that their departed friends were shut up in the sepulchre. The demands of metre drove the author of Theodore's epitaph into *cum corpore*, "here Theodore rests along with his body," but that was metre or bad Latin, and not doctrine. Wilfrith's epitaph

brings this out quite clearly, for after commencing with the statement "Here rests in the body Wilfrith," the concluding verses state that "he has joyfully gone to the heavenly realms." The use of *Presbyter*, not *Sacerdos*, was in accordance with custom, so much so, that in the very rare cases where *Sacerdos* is used on a stone it has been argued that *bishop* is meant. The *Liber Vitæ* knows nothing of *sacerdotes* or *episcopi* till a later date, as late as the Norman Conquest; of presbyters it has long lists, and all its anchorites are presbyters. Ecgberht's Pontifical used *sacerdos* for bishop and priest. The letters EPS have been read or imagined on a small cross at Hexham, and it is said that on an early stone dug up in 1761 at Peebles there was *Locus Sancti Nicholai Episcopi*. The word *Episcopus* almost certainly occurs once and perhaps twice on the inner wood of St. Cuthbert's coffin. The Yarm stone has —*mbercht sac.*, and in Wigtonshire there is a stone with *hic jacent sancti et præcipui sacerdotes id est Viventius et Maiorius*. *Sacerdos* or its Irish equivalent is found freely in Ireland. These differences of use no doubt point to real differences of idea which would have great interest for the student of ecclesiastical history, for whom there certainly are sermons in stones.

NOTE.—The Rev. W. T. Southward, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, has suggested, since the meeting at which these remarks were made, that the gap after *singular* may be filled with *i sig*. This is very ingenious and interesting. *In hoc signo vinces* was probably known to the person who designed the inscription; but *singulare* as applied to the *signum crucis* has not sufficient passion, and it could scarcely be taken to mean "in this sign alone," or rather, *singulare* would scarcely have been the word selected for that purpose. And it is a great question whether there is room on the stone for *ISIG*, considering how large a letter *g* is on the other side of the shaft. The remarkable crowding of the letters does not begin till a later point of the inscription. The words *singulari signo* do not balance well, but there may have been an intentional play. It would be very rash to reject Mr. Southward's suggestion, which has the further merit of clearing away all complicated questions of connection with other inscriptions and with passing events.

V.—ON THE MONASTERY AND CHURCH OF ST. PETER, MONKWEARMOUTH.

BY THE REV. J. R. BOYLE.

[Read on the 29th October, 1884.]

THE foundation of the monastery of Wearmouth antedates that of Jarrow by seven years. Benedict Biscop on arriving in England from his third journey to Rome, repaired to the court of Ecgfrid, then King of Northumbria. He displayed the relics and literary treasures which he had acquired at Rome and Vienna, "and," says Bede, "found such favour in the eyes of the King, that he forthwith gave him seventy hides of land out of his own estates, and ordered a monastery to be built thereon for the first pastor of his church. This was done," adds Bede, "at the mouth of the river Were, on the left bank (ad ostium fluminis Wiri ad laevam), in the 674th year from the incarnation of the Lord, in the second indiction, and in the fourth year of the reign of King Ecgfrid" (*Vita Beatorum Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girvensium*, Giles's *Bede*, IV., p. 364).

After a year had elapsed, Benedict went to France and engaged masons, whom he brought back with him, that they might "build him a church of stone in the style of the Romans, which he had always loved." Within a year the structure was roofed, and mass celebrated therein. When the work was well nigh complete, Benedict sent messengers to France to bring thence "makers or artificers of glass," who at that time were unknown in Britain, that they might glaze the windows of his church, cloisters, and dining-rooms. Benedict next laid down rules for the government of his monastery, and departed on his fourth journey to Rome. On his return, amongst other treasures, "he brought with him pictures of sacred images, to adorn the church of the blessed Apostle Peter, which he had built; namely, a picture of the blessed Mother of God and perpetual Virgin Mary, and also of the

twelve Apostles, with which he intended to cover the middle vault, on boarding placed from wall to wall; also pictures from the gospel history with which to decorate the south wall of the church, and pictures of the visions of the Apocalypse of the blessed John, with which to adorn equally the north wall; in order that all persons entering the church, though unable to read, wherever they looked, might either contemplate the amiable aspect of Christ and his saints, though but in a picture, or with watchful mind remember the blessing of our Lord's incarnation, or having before their eyes, as it were, the separation of the last judgment, might be the more mindful carefully to examine themselves" (Bede, *Vita Abbatum Wiremuth. et Girvens*). Benedict also brought with him one John, archchanter of the Church of St. Peter at Rome, and abbot of the monastery of St. Martin, to teach the English the Roman method of chanting, singing, and ministering in the church. He, on arriving in England, not only communicated instruction *viva voce*, but also left not a few writings behind him, which, in Bede's day, were still preserved in the library of the monastery of Monkwearmouth. Agatho was then Pope, and he, at the earnest solicitation of Ecgfrid, gave to Biscop a letter of privilege by which his monastery was for ever made safe and secure from all manner of foreign invasion.

The foundation and endowment of the church and monastery of Jarrow soon followed. The twin monasteries, at least during their early history, were but one institution, of which Biscop was the head. When, however, the second branch of his establishment was planted at Jarrow, he appointed Ceolfrid abbot there under himself, and at the same time made Easterwine abbot at Wearmouth.

The story of Ceolfrid's life I have told in my paper on Jarrow,* and that of Easterwine must now be related.

He was of noble birth. Although Biscop was his cousin, he neither expected nor received any distinction in the regimen and routine of the monastic life. He underwent with pleasure the usual course of monastic discipline. He went from the court of the King, at the age of twenty-four, to the solitude of a recluse's cell. He was an inmate of Biscop's house almost, if not quite, from its foundation. His humility of character was apparent in the willingness, nay, the pleasure, with

* *Arch. Æl.*, Vol. X., pp. 195-216.

which he took part in threshing and winnowing, in milking the ewes and cows, and in the labours of the bakehouse, the garden, and the kitchen. When, after spending eight years in the monastery, during seven of which he was in priest's orders, he was raised to the dignity of abbot, the same spirit distinguished him. Frequently, when he went forth on the business of the monastery, and found the brethren working, he joined them in their labour, guiding the shaft of the plough, wielding the smith's hammer, or shaking the winnowing fan. He was a young man of great strength, pleasant voice, handsome appearance, and kind and generous disposition. He ate the same kind of food as the rest of the brethren, and in the same apartment. After he became abbot he slept in the same common dormitory as before. When he had held this office only four years a pestilence visited the district, and from its ravages the seclusion of the monastic walls afforded no security. Many of the brethren died, and Easterwine amongst the number. The last five days of his life he spent in a private apartment, from which he came out one day, and sat in the open air. He sent for all the brethren, and took tender leave of them, giving to each weeping monk the kiss of peace.*

Meantime, Benedict had departed, soon after the appointment of Ceolfrid and Easterwine, on his fifth and last journey to Rome. During his absence the church of Jarrow was completed and dedicated. This event took place on the 23rd of April, 685. Not quite seven weeks before (7th March) Easterwine had died, and four weeks later (20th May) Biscop's friend and patron, Ecgfrid, was slain in battle. After Easterwine's death, the brethren of Wearmouth consulted with Ceolfrid as to the election of an abbot, and their choice fell upon the deacon Sigfrid, a man skilled in theology, of courteous manners, and admirable temperance, whose disposition was chastened and sweetened by physical infirmity—an incurable disease of the lungs.

When Biscop returned, Sigfrid had been duly installed. As before, he brought treasures and relics in abundance. There were pictures for the decoration of the church at Jarrow, and others, representing scenes

* At Jarrow the pestilence seems to have been even more fatal than at Wearmouth. "In the monastery, over which Ceolfrid presided, all who could read, or preach, or say the antiphones and responses, were carried off, except the abbot himself and one little boy (puerulus), who was brought up and educated by that abbot, and now holds the office of presbyter in the same monastery" (*Hist. Abbatum Girvensium, Auct. Anon.* Giles's *Bede*, VI., p. 421).

in the Saviour's life, "with which he surrounded the whole church of the blessed Mother of God, which he had erected in the greater monastery [of Wearmouth] (*Divinae historiae picturas, quibus totam beatam Dei Genetricis, quam in monasterio majore fecerat, ecclesiam in gyro coronaret*)" (Bede, *Vita Abbatum Wiremuth. et Girvens.*) Biscop also brought "two palls, entirely of silk, of incomparable work (*pallia duo holoserica incomparandi operis*), with which he afterwards purchased from King Alfrid and his counsellors three hides of land on the south bank of the river Wear, near its mouth."

Shortly after his return home Biscop was seized by paralysis, which, during three years of suffering, increased upon him. When visited by the brethren he exhorted them to obey the monastic rule which he had given them, and which, he alleged, he had formed from the practices of seventeen monasteries visited by him during his travels. He requested earnestly that the large and noble library, which he had brought from Rome, should be preserved in its entirety, and neither be injured by neglect nor dispersed. But the one thing about which he was most anxious was the election of his successor. "And truly," said he, "I say to you, in comparison of the two evils, it would be more bearable to me, if God so determined, that all this place, in which I have raised a monastery, should be reduced to perpetual desolation than that my brother according to the flesh, who, as you know, walks not in the way of truth, should succeed me as abbot in the government of this monastery." On this speech, reported by Bede, Mr. Surtees remarks that Biscop's apprehensions "evidently pointed to a practice, not totally infrequent, of converting the headship of religious houses into a successive and almost lay inheritance" (*Hist. Durham*, II., 4).*

Taking counsel with Sigfrid, the advances of whose malady gave evident proof of the nearness of his dissolution, Benedict sent for Ceolfrid, and, with the approval of all the brethren of Wearmouth and Jarrow, made him abbot of both monasteries. Sigfrid died in the autumn of 686. Benedict only survived him four months. He died on the 12th of January, 687, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth.

* But see Surtees's *Hist. Durham*, I., p. vii; Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, 1st Ed., p. 41, 3rd Ed., p. 55, 4th Ed., I., p. 75; Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, I., Pref. p. 1; and Mr. Longstaffe's paper on "The Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham," in *Arch. Æl.*, N.S., Vol. IV.

The chief circumstances in Ceolfrid's life I have related in my previous paper. During his government, one Witmer gave, as a perpetual possession to the monastery of Wearmouth, ten hides of land in the vill called Daldun, which he had received from King Alfrid. Daldun may safely be identified with Dalton.* When South (or Bishop's) Wearmouth was given by King Athelstan to St. Cuthbert, Dalton was included as one of its appurtenances.† There is evidence that not long after the establishment of St. Cuthbert's at Durham, Dalton was one of its possessions,‡ and to this day the gift of Witmer forms part of the endowment of the cathedral of Durham.

Ceolfrid had ruled seven years at Jarrow before the jurisdiction of the two houses was conferred upon him. In this latter position he remained twenty-eight years. His monastic life at Jarrow and Wearmouth must have covered a period of over forty years. Finding age and infirmity creeping upon him, he determined to resign his charge, and repair to Rome, intending there to end his days. The brethren begged him, on bended knees, to forego his purpose. The third day after he had revealed his intention he set out. The account of his departure, as given by Bede, deserves a place here.

Early on the morning of Thursday, the 4th of June [715], mass was sung in the church of the blessed Mother of God and perpetual Virgin Mary, and in the church of the Apostle Peter, and after those who were present had received the holy communion, he immediately prepared for his journey. All assemble in the church of the blessed Peter; he kindles the incense, offers a prayer before the altar, pronounces a blessing upon all, standing on the steps, and holding the censer in his hand. They go thence, the cries of all mingling with the responses of the litany. They enter the oratory of the blessed martyr Lawrence, which was opposite the dormitory of the brethren (quod in

* See *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. 121.

† Leland's *Collectanea*, I., p. 374; *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, pp. cccxix-xxx, ccccxxiii; Surtees's *Durham*, I., p. 224; Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Ed. 1817, I., p. 234; Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*, pp. 50-51; *Symeon of Durham* (Surtees Society's Ed.), p. 149.

‡ *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, pp. xli, xlvi, lv, and especially lxxxiii. That these three charters of Bishop William de Karileph are palpably forgeries does not invalidate them as evidence that the convent of Durham actually possessed the estates they pretend to grant. They were, in fact, forged to afford a title to lands and churches already in possession.

dormitorio fratrum erat obvium).^{*} When uttering the last farewell he admonishes them to preserve goodwill amongst themselves, and to correct transgressors according to the rule of the gospel. To all, no matter how grievously they may have transgressed, he offers the grace of his forgiveness and reconciliation. He entreats them all to pray for him, and to become reconciled to him, if there were amongst them any whom he had reproved too harshly. They go down to the shore. Again he gives to all the kiss of peace, and they, weeping, fall upon their knees. Then he offers a prayer, and with his companions ascends into the ship. The deacons of the church, carrying burning tapers and a golden cross, enter the vessel with him. He passes over the stream, adores the cross, mounts his horse, and departs, leaving in his monasteries brethren to the number of nearly six hundred.[†]

This passage is valuable, since it gives us authentic information as to the extent of the establishment at Monkwearmouth at the time of Ceolfrid's departure. It mentions the churches of St. Mary and St. Peter, as well as the oratory of St. Lawrence. Until a comparatively recent period both churches existed. The account roll of the master of the cell of Wearmouth for the year 1360 mentions *the old church* as the receptacle of one stack of barley, being the tithes of the vill of Wearmouth and Fulwell.[‡] Less than a century later the Proctor of Durham complains to William Hilton, son and heir of the Baron of Hilton, that "on Scottyman" named "John Pottes, in diuerse tymes has opynd and brokyn upp y^e doresse of y^e said Celle of Monkweremouth and takyn oute his corn and his hay aftre his awn will and somtym sett his horse in a place callid y^e ald Kirke to y^e hay mowe deflyng y^e sam place and destroying hay," etc.[§] The church designated "old" in these extracts was not necessarily a more ancient building than the other church, then as now, still used for its original purpose. A dismantled structure is always, in common phrase, styled "old."

^{*} "Quod est in dormitorio fratrum" (*Hist. Abbatum Girvensium*, *Auct. Anon.* Giles's *Bede*, VI., p. 425).

[†] *Vita Beatorum Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girvensium*. Giles's *Bede*, IV., p. 390. See also a somewhat longer account of the same event in the anonymous *Historia Abbatum Girvensium* (Giles's *Bede*, VI., pp. 423-425).

[‡] "In veteri ecclesia est j. tassa orde decimalis villarum de Weremuth et Fulwell estimata ad" (*Inventories and Account Rolls of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth*, p. 159).

[§] *Inventories and Account Rolls of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth*, p. 241. The document quoted in the text is dateless, but ante 1447.

After Ceolfrid's departure his brethren returned to the church, and with weeping and prayer commended themselves to God. After the psalmody of the third hour was sung, they deliberated as to what should be done. A new abbot must be elected. Three days later, on Whitsunday, a council was held, attended by all the brethren of St. Peters' and the elder brethren of St. Pauls'. The utmost harmony prevailed, and Huetbert was chosen. He immediately, accompanied by some of the brethren, went to Ceolfrid, who was waiting for a ship in which to cross the ocean.* He confirmed their choice, gave them his blessing, and received from his successor a letter of commendation, addressed to Pope Gregory II. On Huetbert's return, Acca, then bishop of Hexham, and Wilfrid's successor there, was summoned to Wearmouth to confirm the election of the new abbot.

One circumstance in Huetbert's life, which, says Bede, "was gratifying and delightful to all," must be here related.

"He took up the bones of Abbot Easterwine, which had been deposited in the entrance porch of the church of the blessed Apostle Peter, and also the bones of his former master, the Abbot Sigfrid, which had been buried outside the Sacarium on the south, and placing both in one receptacle, but divided in the middle by a partition, he laid them within the same church, by the side of the body of the blessed father Benedict. This he did on Sigfrid's birthday, that is, the 22nd day of August; on which day also the wonderful providence of God so ordered that Witmer, the venerable servant of Christ, whom

* The anonymous *History of the Abbots of Jarrow* declares that Huetbert and his companions found Ceolfrid "in the monastery of Albert, which is situate in a place called Cornu Vallis (in monasterio Alberti, quod est situm in loco qui Cornu Vallis appellatur)." Dr. Haigh imagined that the site of this monastery "was probably at Hornsea [in Holderness], on the coast of the East Riding of Yorkshire." Towards this supposition the only evidence is the syllable *horn*, which would be equally pertinent for Hornby, in the North Riding. At neither place, however, have we record or trace of any monastic establishment. The same anonymous history tells us that Ceolfrid sailed from the Humber; and a passage in Bede's *Lives* implies that Huetbert overtook Ceolfrid whilst "awaiting the arrival of a ship in which to cross the ocean." The monastery of Cornu Vallis must therefore be located at or near some port on the Humber. The Praetorium of Antonine's first Iter, identifiable with a submerged port near the later Ravensers, within the river-bay formed by Spurn Point, was certainly in Cornu, and even in Cornu Vallis, if we remember the bold headlands of Holderness on the east, and the southern wolds of Yorkshire on the west, and understand by *vallis* the whole district drained by the river Hull.

we have mentioned above, should depart, and he, who was their follower, was buried in the place where the aforesaid abbots were first interred.”*

To identify the “entrance porch”—the *porticus ingressus*—in which the remains of Easterwine had been interred, with the lower and earlier portion of the present tower is not difficult, as we shall hereafter have evidence. But the location of the Sacrarium is by no means so easy a task. The word itself has varied meanings. It sometimes means the whole church; in other cases “the most sacred part of the church,—the place of the altar and ‘confessio’” is meant, answering to τὸ ἄγιον and τὸ ἱερατεῖον of the Greek church; and elsewhere the sacristy or vestry simply is intended. The first and most extended meaning is not admissible in the present instance. Perhaps English usage will incline us to accept the last definition as the most probable, though herein we shall differ from Dr. Haigh, who assumes that the chancel or choir is meant.† Here, perhaps, I ought to quote a singular and perplexing passage from the anonymous *History of the Abbots of Jarrow*, wherein we are told that “Benedict was interred in the porch of the blessed Peter, on the east of the altar, whither also, afterwards, the bones of the most reverend abbots Easterwine and Sigfrid were translated.”‡ Plainly, the porticus in which Easterwine was first interred, and that in which Benedict was buried, and to which the remains of Easterwine were removed, could not be the same. If we assume the existence of two porches, this does not remove the whole

* This passage is so important that I adjoin the original Latin. “Sustulit ossa Easterwini abbatis, quae in porticu ingressus ecclesiae beati Apostoli Petri erant posita; neonon et ossa Sigfridi abbatis ac magistri quondam sui, quae foris Sacrarium ad meridiem fuerant condita, et utraque in una theca, sed medio pariete divisa, recludens, intus in eadem ecclesia juxta corpus beati patris Benedicti composuit. Fecit autem haec die natalis Sigfridi, id est, undecimo Kalendarum Septembrium, quo etiam die mira Dei providentia contigit, ut venerandus Christi famulus Witmer, cujus supra meminimus, excederet, et in loco ubi praedicti abbates prius sepulti fuerant, ipse, qui eorum imitator fuerat, conderetur” (*Vita Abbatum Wiremuth. et Girvens. Giles’s Bede, IV., p. 396*).

† See his paper on the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in the Winchester volume of the Archæological Association, pp. 432 and 434. On the word *Sacrarium* see the glossaries of Du Cange and Spelman, and Smith and Cheetham’s *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Stephenson supports the view to which I incline, rendering, in the passage in question, *sacrarium* by “sacristy” (*Church Historians of England, Vol. I., Part II., p. 618*).

‡ “Sepultus autem est Benedictus in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum etiam reverentissimorum abbatum Easterwini et Sigfridi sunt ossa translata” (*Historia Abbatum Girvensium, Auctore Anonymo. Giles’s Bede, VI., p. 422*).

difficulty. The emphatic way in which Bede speaks of the later resting place of Easterwine and Sigfrid's bones as being *within* the church, can leave no doubt that the *porticus ingressus* was *without*. So there were at least two porches, and the porticus *within* may have been a corridor between the churches of St. Mary and St. Peter.

Ceolfrid left Wearmouth on the 4th of June, and on the fourth of the following month he sailed out of the Humber. On the 12th of August he landed on the shore of France, and on the 25th of September died at Langres, at the age of seventy-four years.

Huetbert is the last of the abbots of Wearmouth of whom Bede's *Lives* gives us any account. He was probably abbot at the time of Bede's death. Dr. Haigh speaks of that Cuthbert, pupil of Bede, whose letter to some Cuthwin, fellow-pupil, is our record of their master's last days and death, as Huetbert's successor in the abbacy (*Winchester vol. Arch. Ass.*, p. 434). But in this he was led astray by Dr. Giles, whose statements on this point (*Bede's Works*, I., p. lxxvi., lxxviii.,) are entirely erroneous.

From the time of Huetbert we have no record of the church and monastery of Monkwearmouth, till the period of the Danish invasion under Hinguar and Hubba. The noblest of the monasteries along the northern coast, says Roger of Wendover, were destroyed by these pirates; and he especially mentions Lindisfarne, Tynemouth, Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Whitby (Bohn's Ed., I., p. 192).*

After this comes another gap of two centuries in our history of the monastery of Monkwearmouth. At some period during this interval the church had probably been restored. By whom, or to what extent this was done, we shall never know. According, however, to the continuator of Symeon's *Historia Regum*, King Malcolm, in an extensive and barbarous raid upon the north of England, in the year 1070, "destroyed by fire, himself looking on, the church of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, at Wearmouth" (*Symeonis Dunelm. Opera et Coll.*, Surtees Society's Ed., I., p. 87). This statement is repeated in almost identical words by Roger de Hoveden (Rolls Series, Ed. I., p. 121). The *Liber Ruber Dunelmensis* says that "Malcolm, King of Scotland, consumed Wearmouth by fire" (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores*

* See also *Matthew of Westminster* (Bohn's Ed.), I., p. 411; and *Matthaei Parisiensis, Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), I., p. 393.

Tres, p. ccccxxiv). The *Liber incerti auctoris de Episcopis Lindisfarnensibus*, as quoted by Leland (*Coll.*, I., p. 381), repeats the assertion in almost the words of the authority first quoted. This may be also said of a quotation in Leland (*Coll.*, II., p. 229) from some prologue of Alured's of Beverley.

Notwithstanding all this testimony, which, after all, does not amount, at most, to more than two independent authorities, Mr. Surtees, and, at a later date, Mr. John Hodgson Hinde, felt themselves entitled to call the statement into question. Mr. Surtees rests his scepticism on two grounds. First, that the event "is related with such discrepancy, both of date and place;" and second, that Symeon's "silence as to the almost contemporary destruction by Malcolm is strong negative evidence," especially as he (Symeon) says, "that from the era of the Danish conquest to the revival of the monastery by Aldwin, the site of the convent of Wearmouth lay waste and desolate two hundred and eight years" (*Hist. Durham*, II., p. 5). To this it is necessary to say in reply that the "discrepancy both of date and place," of which Mr. Surtees speaks, does not exist. The chroniclers who refer to the event are so unanimous, nay, almost verbally identical, that thereby the weight of their testimony is weakened. Symeon's silence, in his *Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, proves nothing, since therein Malcolm is scarcely mentioned, and his ravages in Northumbria did not come within the historian's plan. On the other hand, Symeon is rendered with extraordinary freedom when made to say that at Aldwin's incoming the site of the monastery of Wearmouth had lain waste two hundred and eight years. His words are these: "Clearly, from the time in which the churches in the province of the Northumbrians were plundered by the pagans, and the monasteries were destroyed and burnt, until the third year of the jurisdiction of Walcher, when, by Aldwin coming into that province, the monastic life therein began to revive, CCVIII. years may be reckoned."*

Mr. Surtees, however, though he denies that the church of Monkwearmouth was burnt by Malcolm's followers, asserts "that Malcolm,

* "Plane a tempore quo a paganis ecclesiae in provincia Northanhymbrorum eversae, et monasteria sunt destructa atque incensa, usque tertium annum praesulatus Walcheri, quando per Aldwinum in ipsam provinciam venientem monachorum in illa coepit habitatio reviviscere, CCVIII. computantur anni" (*Symeonis Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.*, Ed. Mag. Rot., p. 113).

in the same expedition in which he bore off Edgar Atheling and his sisters from the harbour of the Wear, did destroy a church or monastery on one bank of the same river," and that this "seems indisputably established by the testimony of concurring historians." These "concurring historians," however, with one exception (*Liber Ruber Dunelmensis*) agree in declaring that the place burnt by Malcolm was "the church of St. Peter, at Wearmouth."

Mr. Hinde's criticisms are both more careful and more weighty. He proves clearly enough that the whole account of the invasion by Malcolm, when the church of Monkwearmouth is said to have been burnt, contains so many assertions which are palpably untrue, as fairly to throw doubt upon the rest. One passage must be quoted here. "The church of St. Peter at Wearmouth is represented [in the narrative of Symeon's continuator] as having been burnt down on this occasion, whereas we learn from Symeon that it had been for ages in ruins, its walls only standing, and the site, both within and without, overgrown by timber and by brushwood, which were cut down with much labour a few years later, when the edifice was at last put into a state of repair" (Pref. to Surtees Society's Ed. of *Symeon*, p. 29). Desirous as I am to give these words their full weight, I will quote what Mr. Hinde says elsewhere. "Neither is there the slightest reason to suppose that the church of St. Peter at Wearmouth had ever been restored since the destruction of the monastery by the Danes in the ninth century. At all events the accounts given of it in the *History of the Church of Durham*, III., 22, A.D. 1075, when the site was overgrown not only with brambles and thorns, but with forest trees,* is altogether inconsistent with the assumption that it was in a state of repair only five years previous" (Note in Surtees Society's Ed. of *Symeon*, p. 86). The only explanation of the difficulty I can offer is that Symeon's reference to trees, brambles, and thorns is to be interpreted with some degree of latitude; and that, although no

* "According to the interpolator [of Symeon's *Historia Regum*], the church of Wearmouth was burned under Malcolm's own eyes in 1070. Could this description be given of the building about five years after? Certainly not, if we are to suppose with Mr. Hinde that the site was 'overgrown, not only with brambles and thorns, but also with forest trees.' But I do not see Mr. Hinde's forest trees in the 'arbores' of Symeon. Surely in the space of five years the site would be quite enough overrun with brambles, elder, and ivy to give the monks some trouble to clear it out" (Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, V., p. 898).

restoration of the monastic buildings had taken place since the time of the Danish invasion, still some part of the church had been so far repaired as to serve the purposes of the neighbouring inhabitants.*

In my paper on Jarrow I have repeated from Symeon the story of the settlement, first at Monkchester, and afterwards at Jarrow, of Aldwin and his companions. After a time, Aldwin was desirous of reviving the decayed monastic institutions elsewhere. For this purpose, accompanied by one Turgot, he travelled northwards to Melrose. Reinfrid went to Whitby, and Elfwin remained at Jarrow. Turgot is said to have been at this time "a cleric as to his dress, but in heart and conduct a follower of the monastic life." The continuation of Symeon's *Historia Regum* gives a romantic account of his previous career, which is repeated by Roger de Hoveden. Melrose was then a ruin, but the pilgrims were charmed with the seclusion of the place, and at once commenced the observance of their monastic practices. Malcolm soon heard of their settlement in his dominions, and as they refused to swear fidelity to him, he adopted towards them a course of persecution.

"Meantime, the venerable Bishop Walcher, by frequent letters and injunctions, requested, admonished, and adjured them, and at last threatened, with the priesthood and all the people before the most holy body of St. Cuthbert, to excommunicate them unless they would return to him [in order] to remain under [the protection of] St. Cuthbert. Dreading, therefore, excommunication much more than the wrath of the king, who threatened them with death,—for they were then quite ready to die,—they left that place and returned to the bishop. He at once gave to them the monastery of the blessed Apostle Peter in Wearmouth, at one time exceedingly beautiful and renowned, as Bede, its inmate from infancy, describes; but then, what it anciently was could scarcely be seen, such was the ruin of the buildings. Here they made little dwellings of boughs, and strove to teach all whom they could to enter with them the strait and narrow way, which leads to life. Here Aldwin conferred upon Turgot the monastic habit, and as

* Corroborative of this view is a passage in the continuation of Symeon's *Historia Regum*, wherein we are told that at the time of Aldwin's arrival in the north, "but very few churches—and these formed of branches and thatch—and nowhere any monasteries, had been rebuilt during two hundred years" (*Symeonis Opera*, Surtees Soc. Ed., p. 94).

he loved him most dearly as a brother in Christ, he, by word and example, taught him to carry Christ's easy yoke. The bishop, loving them with familiar affection, often invited them to converse with him, and sometimes summoning them to his councils, deigned most cheerfully to obey their suggestions. But he gave to them the vill of Wearmouth itself, to which afterwards his successor, William, added an adjoining vill, namely Southwick, in order that he and the brethren who were with him, might, without great difficulty, persevere there in the service of Christ. For some came thither from the remote parts of England to live with them the monastic life, and they learned to serve Christ with one heart and one soul. Then they took pains to clear out the church of St. Peter, of which only the half-ruined walls were then standing; they felled the trees and uprooted the briars and thorns, which had filled the whole [site]; and when the roof was laid on, as at this day it is seen, they had done their best to restore [the place to fitness] for performing the offices of divine praise.”*

Such is Symeon's narrative. The events it relates belong to the year 1075. The passage in which our historian computes the period between the desolation of the northern monasteries by the Danes, and the arrival of Aldwin in the north, at two hundred and eight years immediately follows. He then proceeds to relate that, under the

* Inter haec venerabilis episcopus Walcherus frequentibus eos litteris et mandatis rogavit, monuit, adjuravit, ad ultimum cum clero et omni populo coram sacratissimo sancti Cuthberti corpore sese illos excommunicaturum minatur, nisi ad se sub sancto Cuthberto mansuri reverterentur. Illi ergo excommunicationem magis quam iram regis, quae mortem eis minabatur, formidantes, nam mori tunc omnino statuerant, locum illum relinquunt, ad episcopum perveniunt. Quibus statim monasterium beati Petri Apostoli in Wiramuthe donavit, olim, sicut habitator ejus ab infantia Beda describit, egregium satis ac nobile; tunc autem, quid antiquitus fuerit, vix per ruinam aedificiorum videri poterat. Ubi de virgis facientes habitacula, quosunque poterant arctam et angustam viam, quae ducit ad vitam, secum ingredi docere studebant. Ibi Aldwinus Turgoto monachicum habitum tradidit, et ut carissimum in Christo fratrem diligens, verbo et exemplo jugum Christi suave illum portare docuit. Quos episcopus familiari caritate amplectens, saepius ad colloquium suum evocavit; et interdum suis adhibens consiliis, libentissime illorum dictis dignatus est obedire. Donaverat autem illis ipsam villam Wiramutham, cui postea successor ejus Willelmus aliam proximam, videlicet Suthewic, adjecit, ut, cum his qui secum erant fratribus, sine magna difficultate ibidem in Christi famulatu possent perseverare. Nam etiam de remotis Anglorum partibus illuc aliqui advenientes, monachicam cum eis vitam agere, et uno corde ac una anima Christo didicerunt servire. Tunc ecclesiam Sancti Petri, cujus adhuc soli parietes semirutu steterant, succisis arboribus, eradicatis vepribus et spinis, quae totam occupaverant, curarunt expurgare: et culmine imposito, quale hodie cernitur, ad agenda divinae laudis officia sategerant restaurare (*Symeonis Historia Ecc. Dunelm.*, Ed. Mag. Rot., p. 112-113).

bishop's fostering care, the monks led a quiet and peaceful life, and that he, like a most loving father, bestowed upon them the wealth of his affection, frequently visiting them, and at all times seeking most liberally to supply their needs. It was his intention, had he lived, to join their order, and to establish them in a permanent abode, near the body of St. Cuthbert. With this intention he laid the foundations of the monastic buildings at Durham. But death defeated his plans, and the completion of his project was left to his successor.

In the year 1083, on Friday, the 26th day of May, the festival of St. Augustine of Canterbury, the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, twenty-three in all, were brought into their new home at Durham by Bishop William de Karileph. We can picture the monks meeting early in the morning in the churches of their respective houses to say their last mass there, joy and sadness mingling strangely in their hearts the while. And then the little bands depart, often looking back with tearful eyes to the homes hallowed by the traditions of Benedict, Ceolfrid, Sigfrid, Easterwine, Huetbert, and Bede. As they go they carry their precious relics and treasures with them—the books brought from Rome, four hundred years before, by Biscop, and others written by the hand of Bede. Later in the day the fane of Durham rises before them, and hope and proud expectancy beat high within their breasts; and, ere the early summer's sun has set, their first evensong has risen to heaven from their new and splendid habitation.

From this time the monastery of Wearmouth became a cell under St. Cuthbert's. Its history to the dissolution I may make the subject of a future paper. At the latter period it was valued, according to Dugdale, at £25 8s. 4d., and according to Speed, at £26 9s. 9d.

It only remains for me to describe the existing portions of the ancient church. In Hutchinson's day "several remains of the monastic buildings," forming, with the church, "three sides of a square," still existed, but they have since then entirely disappeared. Of the old hall of Monkwearmouth, which perished by fire in 1790, some portions were believed to be remnants of the monastery, and other parts to have been constructed from its ruins. These are all gone, and so far as I know, no pencil has perpetuated their likeness. The only portions of the pre-Norman buildings at Monkwearmouth



STABLER, PHOTO.

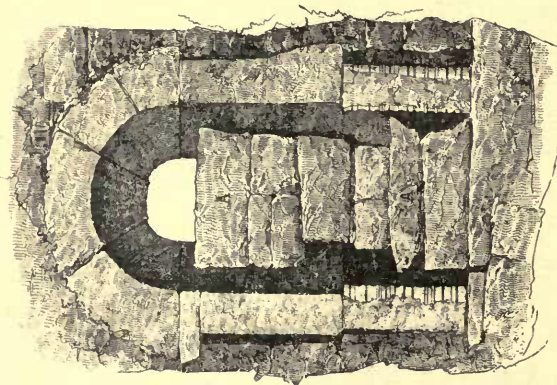
INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, MONKWEARMOUTH,
BEFORE THE RESTORATION.

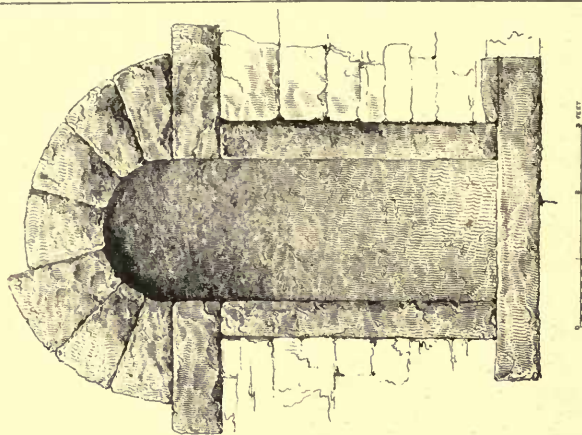




S PETERS MONKWEARMOUTH.
A. Elevation of one Jamb of Western Arch of Tower.
B. Portion of Carved String Course above Western Arch.



S PETERS MONKWEARMOUTH.
Internal Elevation of one of the Windows in Western wall of the North Tower. The wall was blocked up externally by the Tower Walls & filled with Masonry. Internally (Note the Behaviour of the Stones) it was left open to receive the Plaster.



S PETERS MONKWEARMOUTH.
Elevation of the Archway on the South side of Lower Story of North Tower.

are the tower and west wall of the nave of St. Peter's church.* The lower portion of the tower is of different date from the upper part. Indeed its original height is clearly traceable, the angle of its western gable rising from the extremes of the second string-course, and terminating immediately below the third. This lower portion would thus form, originally, an "entrance porch," which antiquaries have been ready to identify with the "porticus ingressus," in which the bones of Easterwine first found a resting place. Over it was a chamber with a window on the west, and another on the east, looking into the nave. The lower portion of the tower is peculiar by reason of its three doorways, the fourth belonging not to the tower but to the west wall of the nave. This is an arrangement of which our only other northern example is the tower at Jarrow, and of which the only southern example that I remember is the early Saxon tower of All Saints, Brixworth.† The west wall of the nave is evidently of somewhat earlier date than even the lower part of the tower, which is simply built against it, and not bonded into it. The doorway, which is sometimes spoken of as the east doorway of the tower, is, therefore, really the west doorway of the nave, and was at first external. The two doorways north and south of the tower bear a remarkable resemblance to the walled-up doorway in the north wall of Jarrow chancel.‡ But

* For the drawings of details accompanying this paper I am indebted to T. W. U. Robinson, Esq., of Hardwick Hall. Some years ago Mr. Robinson caused a beautiful and valuable series of plates of details of the Saxon portions of Monkwearmouth Church to be engraved and printed for private circulation. From these plates, with Mr. Robinson's permission, I have selected and copied what I thought necessary.

† See a paper on this church, by the Rev. G. A. Poole, in the *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies*, 1850, p. 122.

‡ Since my paper on the Church of Jarrow was printed, and, indeed, since the present paper was read, I have re-perused the fifth volume of Dr. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest of England*. A passage in his Appendix, which I had either previously overlooked or entirely forgotten, states his opinion of the Saxon remains at both Jarrow and Wearmouth. This opinion is identical with my own; but I shall be believed when I say this forgotten or unobserved paragraph of Freeman's had no influence in bringing me to the conclusions announced in this and my previous paper.

The passage to which I refer is the following:—

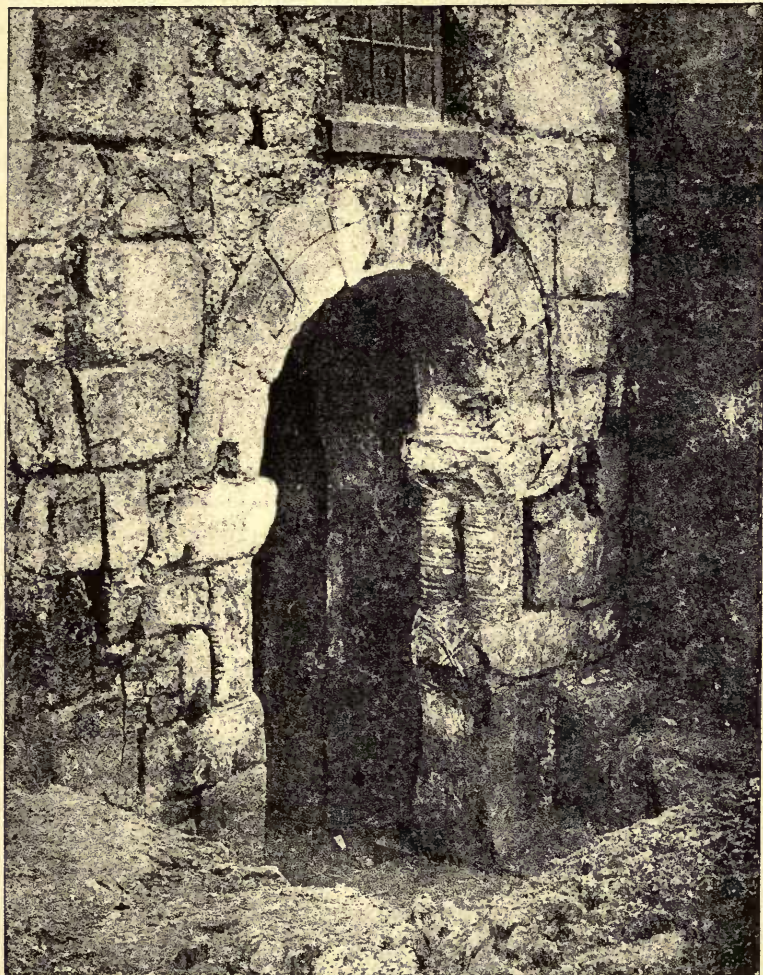
"I have no doubt whatever that large parts of the two churches now standing are the genuine work of Benedict Biscop. Each contains two distinct dates of Primitive Romanesque. At Wearmouth the upper part of the tower is not only Primitive, but clearly earlier than the restoration by Ealdwine. It connects itself, not with the Lincoln towers, but with the earlier type at Bywell and Ovingham. But it is raised on a porch, evidently older than itself, and showing signs of the very earliest date. Here we plainly have a piece of work of the seventh century. It follows that the church of Wearmouth was enlarged or repaired at some time

the western entrance of this tower, or rather porch,—for the original purpose of this portion should never be forgotten, despite later transformations,—is its great feature of interest. A century ago the upper portion of this entrance, though then built up, was visible.* When the engravings of Monkwearmouth church in Garbutt's *History of Sunderland* (1819), and in the second volume of Surtees's *History of Durham* (1820), were published, the tower had been covered with roughcast, and no trace of this archway could be externally seen. About twenty years ago it was opened out, and the accumulated mass of earth which surrounded the lower portion of the tower on three sides was removed. The distinctively fine character of this doorway can leave no doubt that at the time of its erection it was intended as the chief entrance to the church. On this account we may safely regard it as the "porticus ingressus" of Bede, rather than as that other porticus which was within the church. That, at a later period, some additional building was erected to the west of this porch, was clearly evident when the church was restored, for foundations of such a structure were then laid bare. In all probability these were the foundations of a similar building to that which still exists on the west side of the tower of St. Peter's, Barton-on-Humber.

The arch of this remarkably interesting doorway rests upon chamfered abaci, which, in their turn, are supported by baluster shafts. Each abacus rests upon two shafts placed against the thickness of the wall. These shafts are placed upon large stones bonding into the wall, and beneath these are similar stones placed vertically, and resting upon the foundations. A singular design is worked upon the face of each lower stone and continued upon the edge of the stone above it. The design itself, which, on each jamb of the doorway is the same, consists of two serpent-like forms with the tails of fish and the heads of swans. In the upper part of the sculpture the beaks meet and intersect in the

between 680 and 1075. At Jarrow the appearances are different. Here also there are two dates of work which we must call Primitive Romanesque; but while the earlier, as I see no reason to doubt, belongs to the age of Benedict, the later belongs to the age of Ealdwine. In the choir, with its windows so utterly unlike anything of William's age, I have no doubt that we see the building which Benedict raised, and in which Baeda worshipped. But in the manifestly inserted tower, and in the doorway forming part of the domestic buildings which stand close to the church, we see the Primitive style modified by the knowledge of Norman models, exactly as at Lincoln."

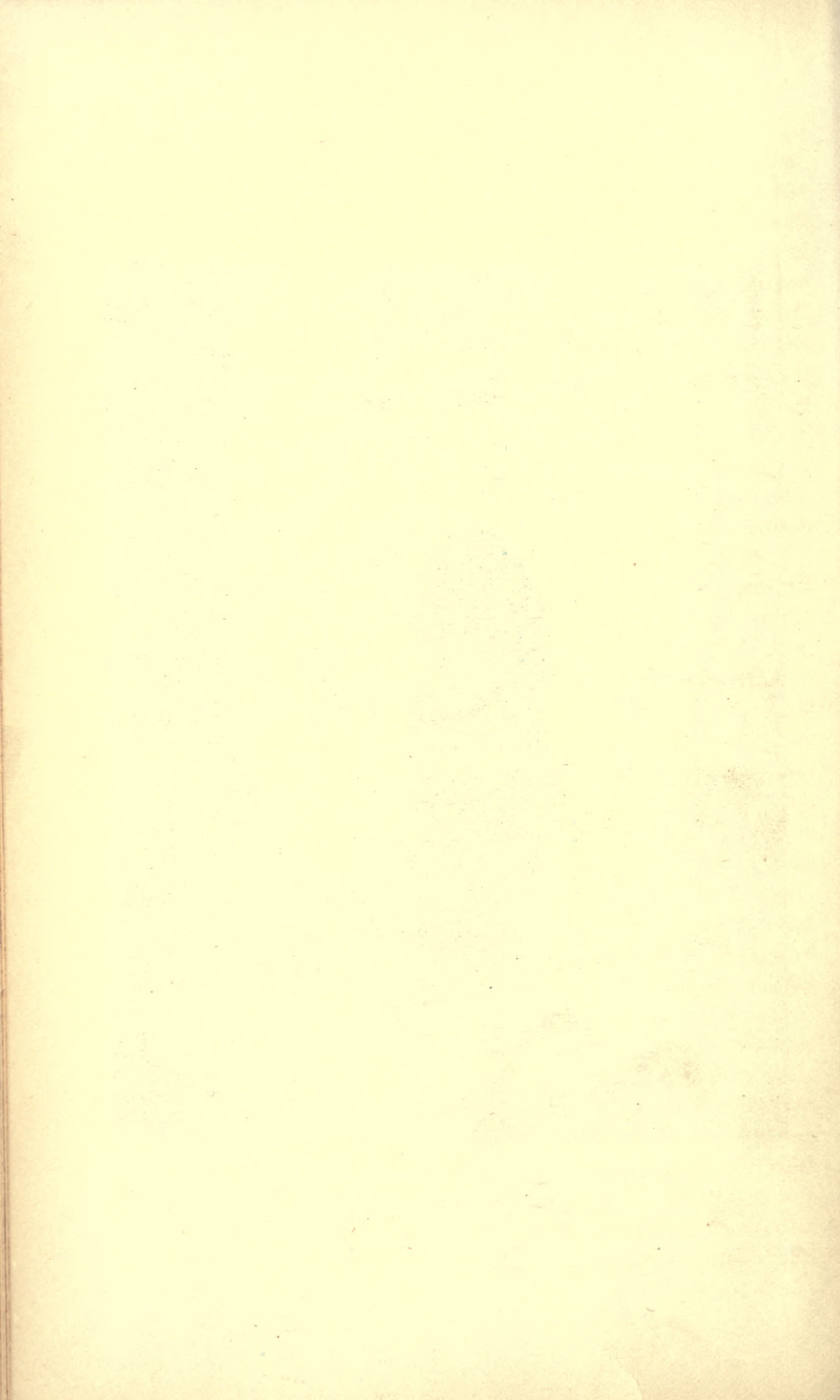
* See the engraving of "Monks Weremouth, Durham," in Grose's *Antiquities*.



STABLER, PHOTO.

INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

DOORWAY OF THE "PORTICUS INGRESSUS,"
MONKWEARMOUTH CHURCH.



middle of the stone. The neck extends to the edge, along which the body is carried down, as a sort of roll moulding, a distance of about three feet. Then the body turns inwards, and, meeting that of the other creature, they twine around each other like a cable moulding, ascending, meantime, the middle of the stone, and, a few inches below the top of the lower slab, they separate, turn again towards the edges, and terminate, as I have said, in fish-like tails. The whole height of the stones upon which the design is worked is 3 feet 8 inches. The baluster shafts are 1 foot 9 inches in height and 10 inches in diameter. The abacus is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. The doorway is 8 feet 10 inches in height and 4 feet 9 inches in width. The arch itself is constructed of nine voussoirs. Along the edge of both abaci and voussoirs runs a delicate round moulding, which stands out from the face of the stone.

The side doors of the tower are perfectly plain, and remind us more of "long and short work" than almost any other feature we find at Monkwearmouth. They are 6 feet high, and 2 feet 2 inches wide.

Over the western doorway, and at the height of 12 feet 6 inches from the ground, we have the first string course, which exists only on the west side of the tower. It is 12 inches in depth, has a cable moulding along its upper and lower edge, and at intervals is divided into panels by double strips of somewhat narrower moulding of the same type. The panels have been filled with sculptured figures, chiefly of beasts; but these are now almost obliterated. A portion of this sculptured string course has at some period been removed, when the window above was carried down through it; but that window has now been restored approximately to its original proportions, and a new stone, with cable mouldings, has been inserted to fill up the gap in the ancient string course.

Above the window which I have just mentioned, and at the height of 20 feet 6 inches from the ground, we have the second string course, which runs round the three sides of the tower. North and south it marks the height of the original "porticus ingressus," and on the west the outline of the gable of that porch is distinctly visible. The space above the string course on the west in the ancient wall has been occupied originally by sculptured figures. Great stones in the wall itself, upon which the central figure was worked, still remain. Dr. Haigh conjectured that a rood had at one time adorned this space.

The western wall of the nave is, as I have said, of somewhat earlier date than the tower. The proof of this is, that the walls of the tower are not bonded into that of the nave, and that the tower has no eastern wall at all.

Along this west wall of the nave there runs, externally, a string course, at the height of 30 feet from the ground, and just above the peak of the original gable of the porch. This string is continued behind the present tower, and this fact proves that the higher part of the tower is of later date than the wall against which it is built. This fact is further and more positively proved by the existence, in the western wall of the nave, of two windows, which were blocked up when the higher part of the tower was built. These lights were opened out at the time of the last restoration, and portions of the tower were cut away for this purpose. Though resembling in general form the three lights in the south wall of Jarrow chancel, these Monkwearmouth windows have one especial and unique feature of interest. This is the employment of baluster shafts in their construction. Two of these shafts are employed in each window, and are so placed in the splay as to rest upon the lower edge of the sill, and to be, at their top, level with the bottom of the light. They are of precisely the same size as those in the western entrance, but are considerably smaller than those at Jarrow. In other respects they differ from the Jarrow specimens. The design is more delicate and refined, and indicates another genius, perhaps another nationality of artist.

These shafts, since they occur both in the windows of the nave and in the doorway of the porticus, enable us to determine that the erection of the latter followed very soon after that of the former.

In the upper portion of the tower we have, on north, west, and south sides, double light windows, resembling in their distinguishing features similar windows in the towers of Billingham, Ovingham, and St. Andrews, Bywell.*

It may reasonably be asked if we can assign a date to these various portions of the ancient church of Monkwearmouth. I think that, approximately, at all events, we can do so. There is no need now to enter upon any argument in proof of the existence of Christian edifices in this country of pre-Norman date. The late John Henry Parker

* See Plate of Windows, *Arch. Æl.*, Vol. X., p. 218.

had the intention, had life been spared him, of announcing his acceptance of the views of Mr. Rickman. Careful evidence, so far as our present subject is concerned, is adduced in a *Report on the Church of Monkwearmouth*, signed by six members of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, and published in the third part of that Society's transactions.

Here another line of evidence may be pursued. Bede's reference to the "porticus ingressus" as the place of Easterwine's first grave, is clear evidence of the existence of this portion, and consequently of the existing remnant of the ancient nave, in the days of Benedict. The later part of the tower, confessedly pre-Norman, has such points of identity of style with the towers of Ovingham, Bywell, and Billingham, that we cannot hesitate to assign a similar antiquity. The report which I have just mentioned inclines to ascribe all these structures to the latter part of the eighth or the first part of the ninth century.

NOTE.—My paper would scarcely approach completeness were I to take no notice of the fragments of the Saxon buildings which, at Wearmouth as well as at Jarrow, have been found from time to time. The largest number of these fragments is preserved in the vestry of Monkwearmouth Church, and of these I give my readers a photograph. Of baluster shafts, differing considerably in type from those in the porch at Jarrow, there are nineteen specimens, most of which, however, are fragmentary. There is a portion of a cross bearing the ordinary interlaced work. One of the most interesting stones is a portion, apparently of a slab, with very delicate knot work sculptured upon it. Another stone bears a sculptured representation of two men in combat; one has dropped his sword, which has been doubled in the conflict, and is seen falling to the ground. Three large stones with animals in bold relief, Mr. Brown believes to have been abaci of doorways. The inscribed stone, evidently a palimpsest, reads—*HIC IN SEPULCRO REQUIESCIT CORPORE HEREBERICH PEB*. The *Liber Vitae* of Durham mentions two presbyters named Herebericht, and which of these, or whether another of the same name, the Wearmouth slab commemorates, cannot be determined.

In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham there are two very perfect and beautiful baluster shafts from Monkwearmouth, as well as a square slab, bearing symbolic or enigmatical sculptures. Of this slab we have a wood engraving in Dr. Raine's preface to the Surtees Society's issue of *The Inventories and Account Rolls of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth*.

VI.—“THE PFAHL-GRABEN,” IN A LETTER FROM THE REV.
JOSEPH HIRST, OF WADHURST, TO DR. HODGKIN, Secretary.

[Read on the 30th December, 1884.]

STRAUBING-ON-THE-DANUBE, 15th Sept., 1884.

DEAR DR. HODGKIN,—When I stood with you and Dr. Bruce on the Roman Wall, near Newcastle, during our Archæological Congress a short time ago, I hardly thought that, on that very day three weeks, I should be standing on the remains of the Roman Vallum just beyond the Danube. On my way out I read with much interest your excellent *Pfahl-Graben*,* and on arriving at Eichstädt, on August 31st, I determined next day to make an expedition to the neighbouring Roman border-line. My old friend and professor of twenty years ago, Canon Suttner, now Vicar-General of the diocese, and a great authority on all points of local history, assured me that the best place in the neighbourhood at which the Vallum could be seen was Pfahldorf, a village about ten miles distant. For the information of future explorers, let me state how easy of access this place is from England. I left London at half-past eight in the evening, *viâ* Queenborough and Flushing, and arrived at Frankfort within the twenty-four hours. Leaving that place next morning at eleven, Eichstädt is easily reached before the evening, *viâ* Würzburg and Gunzenhausen. The town of Eichstädt, hitherto almost unvisited by travellers, boasts a double-choired Gothic cathedral (not Romanesque, as stated by *Bradshaw*), with Norman or Roman porch and towers of 1060, west choir, 1269, east choir, 1359, nave and chief doorway, 1396, and a remarkable double cloister with some spiral columns, 1471-1496, while the sepulchral effigies here and in the cathedral, many from the hands of a local school of sculptors formed under the patronage of the Prince Bishops, deserve more than a passing attention. The drive down the Altmühl valley to Kelheim will well repay the lover of nature; while this latter place, remarkable for its

* *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. ix., pp. 73-161.

beautiful Ruhmeshalle, is the nearest point to the most interesting portion of the Danube throughout its whole course. Steamers pass up and down daily, and a couple of hours up the stream takes you past all that is worth seeing. The founders of Eichstädt were the three children of a king of Wessex, SS. Willibald, Wunibald, and Walburga; and the English arms, still borne by the Chapter and neighbouring nunnery, can be seen over one of the cathedral doors. In Bavaria a carriage and pair of horses can be hired for fourteen marks a day, with *Trinkgeld*.

Leaving Eichstädt at noon, with my host, Canon Morgott, and the Vicar-General, we made straight for the high table-land on the north-east, and after a beautiful and bracing drive through woods of fir, pine, and beech, we arrived, within two hours, at the house of the parish priest of Pfahldorf, Herr Sirl, who kindly consented to become our guide. As is apparent, the name of this village comes from *Pfahlpalus*, stockade, or palisade, and *dorf*, the German for village. In Germany pfahlbürgen was the name given to those townsmen whose houses abutted on the city walls, and is now commonly given by writers to the lake-dwellers of prehistoric times who lived in huts raised on piles. Moreover, the name Pfahler and Pfaller is unusually common amongst families bordering on the Roman Vallum. Strange enough, the species of palisade used by the Romans against the Germans, such as it is seen on the Trajan column, is still the commonest fence hereabouts round farm-yards and gardens. Though one of the oldest villages of the Bishopric of Eichstädt, Pfahldorf (population in 1881, 384) was formed into an independent parish only in 1752, it having possessed hitherto only a chapel-of-ease. To the Vicar-General I am indebted for the following early notices of the name as belonging to this place. In 820, under Louis the Debonnaire, Sifridus, abbot of S. Emmeram's, in Ratisbon, gave to Bishop Baturicus of that city certain hereditary tenements in *Phaldorf*.* Again, in 895, King Arnulphus restored to a vassal of the Bishop of Eichstädt certain property of his in *Phaldorf*, which had been unjustly seized by a niece of

* Anno 820—anno Ludovic. imper. vii., indictionis xii., die Dominico iiii. Non. Dec. Sifridus Abbas ad S. Emeramum Ratisbon. Episcopo Baturico ibid. donat bona haereditaria . . . ad Phaldorf.—Ried, *Codex. Diplom. Ratisbon.*, p. 18-22. NB. Donat ad Phaldorf casam cum curte et mancipia Waning, Radamr, Billuec, et Tafolchuni et item Folchuni.

the Emperor named Hildegarde.* In these two documents the name appears without an initial *f*. In another document of King Arnulphus, bearing date 889, there is mention made of a frontier "from Biswangen on the *Phal*, and beyond the *Phal* to the east *usque ad communem Marcham Nordgaviensium*." †

A few miles before reaching Pfahldorf we crossed an old Roman road, still in use, running over the level table-land straight into a village on our left. In these parts the old Roman roads are often called *Saustrasse*, from the fact that they were the best means of communication existing in the Middle Ages between country places and the market towns; so that the swine-herds must needs have used them for their droves of swine, then the staple product of Lower Bavaria. Hence the easy transference of the name to the Pfahl-graben, the ditch and rampart of which served alternately in various places as the best available means of passage between one village and another. This is the origin of the name sometimes given to the Pfahl, *Saugraben*, *Schweinsgraben*. The so-called Ochsenstrasse between Straubing (*Serviodurum*) and Eining (*Abusina*), on the road to Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*), is, however, not derived from herds of oxen, but from the name of the Emperor Augustus, or from his successors in the Augustan line:—*cf.*, perhaps, Ochsen-Lech, in Augsburg itself. ‡

Going out from the village in the opposite direction to that in which we had arrived, a ten minutes' walk brought us to an open sloping plain, with the Vallum Romanum stretching out before us on either side. There were, however, so many slight mounds, banks, or vallations, natural or artificial, running parallel with it, about a stone-throw's distance from one another, that I could not have discovered the actual Pfahlgraben but for the aid of our practised local guide. The place seemed well suited for a camp or entrenchment, and may have been such in either Roman or later times. Standing on the

* Anno 895, Tribur. Indict. xiii. año regni 8º, iii. Non. Maj. Arnulphus Rex Megingozzo, vasallo Episcopi Erkanboldi, restituit res suas in Phaldorf . . . eidem a nepte Imperatoris Hildegard injuste detractas.—Falkenstein, *Cod. Diplom.*, p. 16; *Monumenta Boica*, xxxi., i., p. 146. Tribur was an old Reichsstadt, just below Mainz, to the south.

† *Monumenta Boica* (Monuments of the Bavarian Nation), xxxi., i., p. 130; Falkenstein, *l. c.*, p. 14.

‡ Compare other corruptions of Augustus; in Zaragoza (Spain) from *Cæsar-Augusta*; Autun (France) from *Augustodunum*, and Aosta (Piedmont) from *Augusta Prætoria* or *Augusta Salætorum*.

rough farm-road by which we had come, I could distinctly trace the Vallum on the left almost as far as the eye could see. For a hundred paces or so it was clearly marked by the small white stones thrown on to it by the peasants while engaged in cultivating the neighbouring tillage land; and, where no hedges or walls were ever seen, it no doubt served as a boundary. In appearance it was like a belt of coarse grass gently rising from either side to a height of two feet in the middle, and though the plough, I am told, encroaches on it on either side, it still maintains a width of from ten to twelve feet. On the right hand side of the road, and at intervals on the left, the ground had been brought to an almost uniform level, and bore crops of various kinds. Unable, therefore, to pursue the laborious task of following up the Vallum on the right, in the direction of Kipfenberg, over the ploughed and roughly broken land, where crops of roots, peas, lentils, hemp, rye, and potatoes gave a patch-work appearance to the ground, we retraced our steps for a few hundred paces, and then proceeded over the waste, scrub, or meadow land, to the woods which hemmed in this great hillside clearing like a circle. Here the direct course of the Vallum was plainly discernible, and we had no difficulty in tracing it through the woods to within a hundred yards of the sharp edge of the declivity overhanging Kipfenberg; that is, for about three miles. In appearance, however, it was at intervals strangely diversified in its course. Now, it was so thickly overgrown with trees and brushwood as to be impassable; now, it ran for a considerable length like a clearing; while here and there, the woodcutter's cart-tracks ran with a deep rut straight through it, leaving its composition and manner of formation plainly visible in the cutting at the sides. At times the footpath went round about it, but very often it ran either along its summit or in the fosse below. In height it seemed uniformly not more than three feet, until, at a greater distance from the village of Pfahldorf, and on nearing its termination at the Altmühl valley, it sensibly increased to a height of from four to six feet, measuring from the bottom of the ditch, which here becomes deeper. This fosse, invariably accompanying the barrier, and evidently contemporary with it and incidental to its construction, had hitherto been only a foot deep, and in places scarcely discernible having evidently been filled up by the falling in of loose materials when the large stones were dug out from

the mound above and carried away by the peasants of later days. On the thickly wooded part, however, over against Kipfenberg, which lies on the opposite side of the valley, across the river Altmühl, the Vallum seems to be in an undisturbed state, and both ditch and mound may possess well nigh their original appearance. Pines and firs of a great height (I measured some two feet in diameter) here grow in thick profusion upon the wall or earthen barrier, amidst the great stones which here lie close to one another, the shining black surfaces of which continually peep out upon the top when not covered with thick coats of green moss. Some of these I lifted out of their soft beds and found them to be from 20 to 30 lbs. in weight. These are the hard irregular magnesian limestones of the Jura formation that have been so industriously quarried by the natives up to within quite a recent date. Old men remember how, in 1817, such stones were carried off from the Vallum Romanum to build the existing school in Pfahldorf. All the houses, however, of the village have been built with such stones, as no stone-quarries whatever are to be found in the neighbourhood. The Romans themselves will have come across these stones when they began to trench the ground, as they lie close to the surface. The only unusual depression of the soil I observed was in a space twelve feet square, just within the barrier, where formerly had stood one of the watch-towers or guard-houses such as are still to be seen represented on Trajan's column in Rome.

That building materials and objects for household purposes formerly used by the Romans were commonly found in the neighbourhood is shewn by the special formulary here in use in very early times for the blessing, or rather exorcising, of such articles, called in the phraseology of that day "*vasa arte fabricata gentilium.*" Thus it can be proved that, about 1070, Bishop Gundekar II. inserted in his Pontifical (this Eichstädt Pontifical is a monument of no mean historical and liturgical importance) a special *benedictio super vascula in antiquis locis reperta.*

The low wall and consequently weak palisade of this neighbourhood no doubt denote that the population hereabouts were more or less friendly to the Romans, or at least so sparsely scattered as not to be much feared by them. Thus the Limes Transdanubianus here partook of the nature more of a border-line than of a defence. Even now-

a-days the country is very thinly peopled ; and if great hordes or any reckless onslaught of the barbarians had been feared, the Romans would not have tarried to make the tithe-paying population within their borders furnish muscle and material for the building of a stouter barrier.

On descending from the high table-land down the steep and sharp declivity (up which no Roman or other road ever went) into the valley below, the level course of which is only a few hundred yards in width, no trace whatever of the Vallum Romanum can be discovered. If there ever was an earthen barrier across the valley it has long since been razed to the ground by the frequent overflowings of the Altmühl. But the Roman encampment on the opposite table-land, from its lofty perch, high above the mediæval keep of Kipfenberg, together with the Roman fortification at Arnsberg, a little lower down the valley to the south, commanded the passage in such a way as to render such a defence unnecessary. No doubt the rich and fertile vale would be used right and left as a secure and well-watched pasture, and for purposes of forage for man and beast. Here the tethered horses of the legionary or auxiliary cavalry would browse in peace under the eyes of their riders, who, from many a vantage point, kept eye upon them.

At Pfahldorf we had sent the carriage on by the road to wait for us at Kipfenberg, and leaving the latter place at six, we reached Eichstädt by the level ground, along the Altmühl valley, past the Arnsberg tower, and many a frowning ruin of mediæval castles darkly set amidst the snow-white crags and pinnacles that make this district so picturesque, at half-past eight in the evening.

Here in Straubing (the Roman *Serviodurum*), since my visit of three years ago, some excavations have been conducted under the eye of my friend Herr Adalbert Ebner, on the site of the old Roman camp existing on the former bank of the Danube, a stone's throw beyond the church of St. Peter, which was built between 1160 and 1180 in Romanesque style, in the old part of the town, on the site of a *tête-du-pont*, or Roman fortification, which very probably took the place of an old Celtic settlement. Amongst the *débris* at the far end of the camp my friend and myself had no difficulty in poking out with our umbrellas numerous bits of Samian ware, some fragments of black pottery, marked, amongst other ways, with an ornament which may be either

a Greek omega, a crescent, or a horse-shoe (like the *Murex* ornament of Phœnician and early Greek times), pieces of a gray or commoner sort of ware, and a respectable fragment of a bowl with rough inside, used by the Roman soldiers for grinding corn. Two Roman iron nails were also amongst the objects I carried away. Here I may say that, for any one who is so minded, there is nothing to prevent him hiring a labourer to excavate in this place without let or hindrance from the municipal authorities, to whom it belongs, and who look on properly conducted excavations with favour. During the past two years thin Roman bricks have been here unearthed, bearing the inscriptions of three military bodies that hitherto were not known to have been stationed here. These are the Legio III. Italica, the Cohors II. Raetorum, and the Cohors I. Canathenorum, which latter body took its name from the town of Canatha in Coelosyria. Thus for the first time was discovered the name of the station occupied by the 2nd Rhaetian Cohort in Rhaetia. Straubing is situated, according to the *Tabula Peutingerana*, 28 millia passuum from Ratisbon and 50 millia passuum from Passau. Standing on a slight eminence overlooking the broad but not over deep sweep of the Danube, and commanding a view of the well-wooded hills on the other side of the river, whence their barbarian foes used to issue, it was a point of some strategic importance. Hence it was closely connected with another Roman camp, necessitated by an inward bend of the river at Oeberau, only three miles distant to the north-west; with another marvellously preserved Roman camp at Wischelburg, twelve miles further down the river to the east; and, thirdly, with the camp that, in all probability, appears to have existed four miles off inland to the west at Rinkam, which was the junction of the so-called Ochsenstrasse with the road to Ratisbon.

On visiting Oeberau I found it to consist of a small camp only one and one-fifth of an English acre in extent, or eighty yards across from gate to gate (the Porta Principalis Dextra facing Straubing), while in its greatest length, one hundred and forty yards, no opening existed in the place of the Decumana or of the Porta Praetoria, which latter side looked on to the river. The whole camp is surrounded by a high mound, some ten feet high, in which we discovered only some bits of mediæval pottery protruding on the outer side. Around the mound was a rather wide ditch, which could easily be filled with water from

the Danube, which in early spring often overflows all the neighbouring plain, and would then cut this outlying station off from Serviodurum. This post is only two miles, as the crow flies, from the old Roman camp at Straubing, though about four by what appears to be the old Roman road called Hochstrasse, running as straight as possible at a little distance from the Danube, with the ground falling away from it on either side.

On reaching Wischelburg I found it to be a well-preserved Roman camp, four hundred paces square, and possessing two entries, due north and south, the Porta Prætoria and Decumana. The German name is supposed to be derived from its Latin predecessor, *Castra Vitellia*. The Romans here seem to have taken advantage of an eminence formed by the bank of the old bed of the Danube, which here approaches the river and rises to a height of about thirty feet, while an old bay in the river, by breaking into the bank, makes two sides of a quadrangle ready to hand. Into this wide bay, into which poured the tributary stream that now turns a mill nestling underneath the steep embankment, the Romans, it is supposed, brought their ships in winter. The two sides of the rampart looking north and west are entirely natural, save that the sides have been made steeper by the formation of an esplanade from ten to forty feet wide half way down, and at the western end a rampart ten feet high has been superadded. On the south side the bank or cliff may have been merely brought into shape and straightened, while on the eastern side, where the ground falls, an artificial rampart has been erected some thirty feet high, except at the north-east corner, where it reaches forty feet, and thus corresponds with the north-west corner. It has, moreover, been strengthened by a ditch, the bank of which, on the opposite side, may be fifteen feet high. This is still so steep that only in one place has it been brought into ridges for cultivation. All these embankments are covered with grass, and in clear-cut shape seem fresh from the hands of the workmen. The four corners of the camp are rounded off, and the old Roman street, running from gate to gate, is lined by some twenty farm houses, forming the present hamlet. The top of the rampart will have been crowned by a strong palisade, of which we are reminded by the wattled palisade fence that runs along the topmost barrier on the south-west. As at Oeberau, no excavations have yet been made here.

Lower down the Danube—which is here, at the present day, some 1,400 feet wide,—at a distance of four miles, is another still untouched Roman camp at Sternkirken, where coins of Maximinus and fragments of Roman urns have been found, while only twelve miles distant was the Roman station of *Quintana*, the present Künzing, after which came Passau (*Castra Batava*). Straubing itself, where Captain Wimmer is now conducting excavations, may be proved to have existed as a Roman station in the first century from the small characters of the inscriptions on the bricks hitherto found which belong to that date (the 2nd Rhætian Cohort is mentioned in both the Weissenburg and Ratisbon military diplomas as having seen twenty-five years' service in these parts—A.D. 107, and again in 166), while the coins so far found belong to Otho, Trajan, Nerva, and Faustina wife of M. Aurelius. Thus Serviodurum appears to be an older station than Ratisbon (the Roman *Regino*, where the first historical monument is the inscription of A.D. 179, in which M. Aurelius and his son Commodus order the place to be fortified), a theory which is confirmed by the fact of the great Roman road running direct from Serviodurum to Abusina without passing through Ratisbon.

Yours faithfully,

JOSEPH HIRST.

VII.—WILLIAM GRAY, THE AUTHOR OF THE “CHOROGRAPHIA.”

BY W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE, VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read on December 30th, 1884.]

WILLIAM GRAY, of Newcastle, merchant, desired to be buried in the burial place of his ancestors in Saint Nicholas's Church, mentioning his brother-in-law, Robert Ellison, in Newcastle, merchant. William Gray, consequently, was a son of Cuthbert Gray, of Newcastle and Backworth.

Robert Ellison was baptised in 1613-14, and Elizabeth, a daughter of the same Cuthbert Gray. There are tedious difficulties as to the details about the pedigrees of the Greys of Barton in Rydale, Southwick nigh Monkwearmouth, and Backworth; but from the names of Cuthbert and Ralph, and persistent arms, it is pretty clear that they were all related, springing from the *southern* Greys, a stock immortalized by Lady Jane Grey. This northern branch of the southern lines will not be forgotten so long as four persons, viz., the gallant defender of the rights of the customary tenants of Durhamshire, the lively diarist, the inimitable annotator of *Hudibras*, and the first historian of Newcastle, are remembered. The William Gray of Newcastle, merchant, who married Margaret Grey, great aunt of the editor of *Hudibras*, at St. Nicholas's, on 17th September, 1655, was probably the author of the *Chorographia*. She was baptised at Chester-le-Street, in 1632, and therefore was much younger than the historian.

Robert Ellison married Elizabeth Gray at the early age of 21, in 1635, and had issue by her fourteen children, of whom eight survived. He was sheriff of Newcastle in 1646, during the civil commotions, and M.P. for it during the settled Commonwealth, which existed from 1648-49 to 1660. Ellison had married Gray in 1635, Gray married Grey in 1655. Meanwhile the *Chorographia* had been published in 1649.

The marriage of 1655, if our William Gray was the bridegroom of his cousin, must have been brief and childless, as in his will, which is dated 8th December, 1656, he does not mention any wife or child. Although possessed of property, he had been in trouble, probably arising, to a considerable extent, out of the cost of royalist delinquency, and the consequent composition for forfeited estate. He directs payment of the debts due from him to Robert Procktor, the husband of his sister Margaret, and, stating that he had been very much engaged and beholden to his brother-in-law, Robert Ellison, in Newcastle, merchant, and to his wife, his (testator's) sister, Elizabeth Ellison, upon all occasions and straights, and had found much comfort and contentment with them, he therefore gave what appears to have been his whole real property to the husband. I much suspect that he had been received by the Ellisons as a resident on his own possessions in the Side, as two of his tenements there, were in Ellison's occupation, and he mentions neither any tenancy of his own, nor any moveables whatever. He must, however, one would think, have had some premises for his occupation of merchant. Possibly his messuage and water corn-mill at Pandon Dean Close were in his own tenure. Any pecuniary difficulties must have been fairly worked through, because he gave legacies, and on 6th March, 1655, had made a lease to his sister, Eleanor (*var.* Ellen) Harle, of the house in the Side in which she then dwelt, and two shops there, for eleven years, at a pepper-corn rent for the first year and a rent of £7 afterwards, which latter rent he bequeathed to her and her son, Edward Harle. This sort of temporary settlement in favour of a widowed sister at a light rent may either have been in connection with the marriage of 17th September, 1655, or the intended devise to Robert Ellison, according as to whether March 6th means in 1655 or in 1655-56.

Our next information is that on 8th December, 1656, the testator, on the very day of his making his will, paid his bequest of £100 to William Procktor, and by a codicil dated 27th March, 1658, William Gray revoked the bequests, insomuch as he had, on that 8th December, 1656, paid it to the legatee personally.

The testator calls William Procktor, son, and Jane Procktor, daughter, of his [the testator's] sister Margaret, *cousins*, kinswomen, nieces as we now should say, leaving them each £100. I much fancy

that the 8th December, 1656, was a more lucky day for the Ellisons than for the Procktors. Whether the legacy of £100 was, on that day, paid before or after the execution of the will, with all its compliments and advantages, can only be a matter of conjecture.

The rest of the will amounts to this. Samuel Ellison, a son of Robert, was to have £100 on his attaining the age of 18 years. Dorothy Oswald, a sister of the testator, was to have £10 yearly during her life. Elizabeth Maddison, eldest daughter of his sister Rebekka, then wife of William Rutter, was to have £50 payable at two years' end after the testator's death. The re-marriage of Rebecca Gray to Rutter is new. Her former husband, William Maddison, brother to Sir Lionel Maddison, made his will in 1646. The arms of Gray, on the fine Maddison monument in St. Nicholas's Church, as to this match, *were* [I am sorry to italicize *were*] those of the south-country Grays. The next bequest of £50, to the eldest daughter of the said Rebekkah Rutter, payable at 16, and, in case of death, to her next younger sister, payable at 16, refers, as I presume, to children of the second marriage to Rutter. The last legacy refers to the family of Ile, of Darlington and Newcastle, over the pedigree of which, as given in my *History of Darlington*, Sir Cuthbert Sharp (whose signet seal on five lines gave *C sharp*, and whose initials in the Newcastle Custom-house figured as the Arabic 5), George Bouchier Richardson, bent under herculean efforts to produce an impossible *History of Newcastle*, and I, gave special attention. Gray gives £100 to Anne Ile, daughter to his sister Deborah, wife to his brother Robert Ile, merchant, on her attaining the age of 16, in failure by death to go to Bulmer Ile, their eldest son, or to the next younger sister at that age. The register of *Deborah* Ile's burial, in 1666, curiously calls her *Rebecca*, the name of her sister. In 1666-7, Robert Ile, in consideration of his natural affection for his daughter Ann, re-leased to Robert Ellison (who seems to have been the family friend) and *William Grey*, of Newcastle, merchants, a house in the Side, adjoining that in which he himself lived. Bulmer Ile, her brother, was apprenticed to Ellison, and died in 1685-6.

From 1667 to 10th February, 26 Car. II., 1673-4, save by an autograph, we practically know nothing. On that day a true and perfect inventory of his goods was taken.* In his own chamber were

* See page 80.

a standing bed and bedding, eight old pictures and a map of England, and a pair of horns. "In the next chamber" five bedsteads, apparently without bedding, a table "*in the closett or studdy*," an "*old chaire and one old desk*," a "pieter box," four long cushions and 16 small old cushions. In the fore chamber, considerable good linen and "two lawne aprons," with a bedstead. In the Dyneing Room three pictures and a table. In the Lowe Hall a small marbell table, four cloths, and the deceased's "purse, apparell, and *Library*," valued at £20 out of the total value of his whole chattels which amounted to £29 16s. 3d. The strange contents of the respective localities suggest that, if he was a householder, his goods had been removed from their ordinary places for convenient appraisement. Whether the closet or study was a parclosed portion of the "next chamber," or opened out of it, may admit of doubt. The will was proved in 1673-4, and on 23rd February of that period, Robert Ellison, the sole executor, gave a receipt to the Registrar at Durham for the original will, which was to be returned into court when wanted. We therefore, unfortunately, have only a certified copy to refer to, the autographed original never having been returned. It might be required by the executor in connection with the real estate.

Enough has now been shown to account for the possession of Gray's own copy of his *Chorographia* by the descendant of Robert Ellison—Lady Northbourne. It lies entombed among a large collection of 17th century small 4to tracts, collected by Gray and Ellison, or both.* Ellison, in September, 1660, was paid "by order of Common Councill the sum of £100 in parte payment of his sallarye the time he sate as burgesse for this towne in the longe parliament the yeares 1647 and 1648."

Elizabeth Ellison died 30th June, 1665, and her husband on 1st January, 1677. Their monumental tombstone in St. Nicholas's Church presents the arms of Ellison impaling the arms of the southern Greys, and over her coat is placed the crest of a demi-swan out of a coronet, which continued to be worn by the Backworth Greys.

* Since the above was written Gray's own copy has been presented to the Gateshead Free Library. As to the orthography of Gray and Grey, it is a mere matter of fancy on the part of the owners of the name.

VIII.—CUTHBERT GRAY, MERCHANT.

BY RICHARD WELFORD.

[Read April 29th, 1885.]

Sir Robert Cotton, according to your request and my promise, I have sent ij stones with inscriptions to Mr. Ruddell of Newcastle, who will safely keep them untill he can receive certain directions from you wheather he may send them to you as by his inclosed letter you may perceave. And so with my kind commendations I bid you farewell. Naward, 29 Augusti, 1608. Your assured freinde,

WILLIAM HOWARD.

Yf it please you to send you letter to Mr. Ruddell by post, direct it to Mr. Cuthbert Gray, a merchant of Newcastle, and it will come safely and speedely to his hand.

So wrote Lord William Howard, the "Belted Will" of history, to his friend Sir Robert Cotton, whose collection of antiquities he was assisting to increase and adorn. The letter is printed upon page 412 of the *Howard Household Book*, which forms volume 68 of the Surtees Society's publications.

Who was Cuthbert Gray, the merchant so well known in Newcastle that a letter addressed to him by post was certain to reach its destination?

The Grays of Northumberland, like the Carrs and the Andersons, puzzle the genealogist and the topographer. Testamentary documents and parish registers yield a bewildering array of them—Johns, Williams, Thomases, and Francis, who are sometimes Gray and at other times Grey, and these again are sons, brothers, cousins, or godsons of other Johns and Williams, Thomases and Francis, "ays" and "eys," world without end. But Cuthbert Gray was a man of mark, and it is not difficult to trace him, his parentage, his business, and his family connections.

We meet with him first in the Register of Marriages at St. Nicholas's Church. On the 9th December, 1600, the Register records his union with Elizabeth Huntley, a member of a Newcastle family that occupied leading positions, then and after, in the corporate body, and the Company of Merchant Adventurers. From other sources, we know that he was a son of John and Margaret Gray; his father being probably the "John Gray, draper," who appears as supervisor, legatee, witness, and funeral furnisher in various wills of the period, and who, on the 17th January, 1595-96, was buried in St. Nicholas's, "at the lower end of the said church."

Within ten months of their marriage, a son was born to Cuthbert and Elizabeth Gray. Under date the 21st September, 1601, the baptismal register at St. Nicholas's contains this entry:—

Willm. Gray, sonne of Cuthbt. Gray, marchant, bap.: Sureties—Mr. Willm. Huntley, marchant and Alderman; Willm. Gray, draper; and the wife of Robert Ellison, marchant, or in her place Margaret Gray, Widow, being grandmother.

Other children, a son named John, and several daughters, came to Cuthbert Gray; but local interest centres in his first-born, who, in after years, became William Gray, merchant, author of the *Chorographia*.

At the date when the Howard Household Book opens, Cuthbert Gray was in business in the Side as a merchant, and engaged, like many of his contemporaries, in coal-mining adventures round about Newcastle. Among other speculations of the same character, he had a lease of pits at Newbiggen, to the west of the Nuns' Moor. Newbiggen, or part of it, was held by Lord William Howard, subject to a payment of 20s. a year to the Virgin Mary Hospital in Newcastle, and Cuthbert Gray was lessee under him at a rent of £50 per annum.

Per quitt'. 11 Julij [1613]. Rec. of Mr. Cuthberte Gray, for the half-yeare's rent of Nubiggin, due at Whitsunday last, xxvli.

Per quitt'. Jan. 10 [1613-14]. Receaved of Mr. Cuthbert Gray, for the half yeare's rent of Nubiggin, due at Martinmas last, xxvli. (This should be but xxiiijli, because I allow the xxs. paid to the Spittle, and charge the Receivor but with xlixli. in all.)—*Howard Household Book*, p. 4.

Edward Gray, possibly Cuthbert's brother Edward, collected rents for the Howard family in Northumberland; Cuthbert performed various services for them in Newcastle. For example: some goods

were coming from London to the Tyne, and a coachman was sent from Naworth to look after them. Contrary winds delayed the ship in which the goods were embarked, and the coachman ran short of money. To whom could he apply for an advance but to Cuthbert Gray?

Lent to the Coachman by Mr. Cuth. Gray, and allowed by my Lady, byding long at sea, xvs.—*Household Book*, p. 65.

From his shop in the Side, Cuthbert Gray supplied the Howards with a pleasing variety of articles—vinegar, cambric for the children, codfish, ling, and sprats, shoes for Mrs. Mary, sack and muscadine, a green velvet cap for Mr. Wm. Howard, and a hat for the footman. Fortune smiled upon him so benignantly that in 1619 he was able to pay not only the half-year's rent of Newbiggen then due, but half-a-year in advance, and the same occurred in 1621. It was an unusual thing for tenants to pay rent in advance in those days. It has been an unusual thing ever since.

The spring of 1623 was fatal to several notable persons in Newcastle. Robert Ledger (the Sheriff), Henry Chapman and Francis Anderson (Aldermen), Ralph Carr, Robert Selby, Jacob and Henry Farnaby (merchants), and Claudius Delaval (gentleman), were buried in April that year at St. Nicholas's. Among them, on the 24th of the month, was laid Cuthbert Gray, cut off in the prime of life and in the height of his prosperity. One of his last acts before signing his will on the 19th April, was the affixing his name to a document regulating the vend of coal for the remainder of the year. The quantity assigned to him was 500 "tens," or keels, equal to 10,500 tons.

The deceased merchant had not found time to cultivate municipal aspirations, nor neglected his business to look after the affairs of other people. How much wealth he inherited, and how much he acquired by his own enterprise, cannot now be ascertained, but he died a rich man. He had houses, lands, and mills outside Pandon Gate; two "mansions" in the Side; five burgages in Hillgate, Gateshead; a share with his wife's relations of pits at Dunstle and elsewhere, and an interest in mines at Newbiggen, before-named, East Denton, Higham Dykes (Ponteland), Newham near Whalton, Whitbie (or Fitbawe) Moor, in the manor of Kenton, and Bellasis near Stannington. He was a shipowner, too, holding three-sixteenths of the "Diligence," a twelfth of

the "Unity," and an eighteenth of the "Mary Susan," all of Ipswich; a quarter of the "Prudence," and six keels. And besides his own mills outside Pandon, he had a lease of a mill in Painter Heugh—Shafto's mill, possibly, about which Mr. Clephan discoursed so genially at the recent visit of the Archæological Institute. Lastly, at his house in the Side was a miscellaneous stock-in-trade, with plate, linen, and ample household gear.

This valuable property he distributed among his wife and family. To William, the future historian, he bequeathed the houses, land, etc., outside Pandon Gate, the houses at Gateshead, and his interest in the pits which he shared with the Huntleys, subject to payment of his widow's thirds. To the widow he left his dwelling house in the Side, with the plate, furniture, and stock-in-trade, all his interest in ships and keels, and the leases of Newbiggen, Higham Dykes, Bellasis, Newham, Whitbie Moor, and East Denton for life, with equal remainders to William and John. To the latter he gave his mansion in the Side called "Marley's Land," and £100 to repair it, together with £200 payable when he attained his majority. His seven daughters were to receive £200 each when they came of age, or married, and he remembered, with suitable tokens of affection, his brothers Edward, William, and Oswald, his sister Elizabeth, brothers-in-law George Huntley, John Butler, and Jacob Fferinsed, uncle Cuthbert Anderson, cousins John Mitford and Ralph Gray, brother Robert Anderson and wife, and their son William Huntley, Vicar Poore, Robert Jenison, Mr. Alvie, preacher, Robert Henderson, physician, and many others. (See Appendix I.)

The place which Cuthbert Gray occupied as the head of so many commercial undertakings was not easily filled. William, the first born, was only just of age; his brother and sisters were minors. To what extent William assisted his mother in her arduous and unaccustomed work does not appear. Both their names occur in the Howard Household Book, ten years after the death of the husband and father, in a manner which indicates a business relationship:—

March 18 [1633-34]. To Mr. William Graye, which he had layed out for the carriage of severall parcells from London in Candellmas tearme, 1633, as appereth by bill, *iiij*l*. iijs. ijd.*

April 1 [1634]. To Mrs. Elizabeth Graye, which she had layde out for the portage of stufte sent from London by Mr. Bowman. *ixs. Household Book, p. 341.*

There are also entries of the payment of rent for Newbiggen at double the amount paid during Cuthbert's lifetime, from which it is to be inferred either that the rent had been increased, or that the widow had doubled her interest in the speculation :—

Dec. 4 [1633]. Rec. of Mrs. Elizabeth Graye, Widdow, for the halfe yeare's rent of one tenement at Newbiggine in the moore, and the coales pitts ther, due at Martinmas, 1633, *lii*.

June 19 [1634]. Rec. of Mrs. Elizabeth Graye for the halfe yeare's rent of one tenement at Newbiggine in the Moor and the coale pitts ther, due at Pentecost, 1634, *lii*.

For twelve years the widow of Cuthbert Gray fulfilled the trust which her husband committed to her, and then the shadows of her life deepened into death. She fell a victim to one of those waves of pestilence which, never long absent, swept over Newcastle and Northern England in the summer of 1636. On Monday, the 22nd August, in that year, she was buried beside her husband and her kindred. Again the record at St. Nicholas's:—

1636—22 August. Elizabeth Gray, widow, bur.*

Of eleven children born to Cuthbert Gray, two, Jane and Maria, died in infancy. Nine were living at the time of his decease—William, John, Margaret, Anne, Ellinor, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Dorothy, and Deborah. So far as can be ascertained, the family circle remained unbroken, save by marriage, when the mother died. William was approaching his thirty-fifth birthday, and his mother's death added to his possessions the dwelling-house in the Side, with its furniture, plate, etc., and one-half the family interest in the coal-mines at Newbiggen, Higham Dykes, etc. If the times had been favourable, William Gray, with this large accession of property, should have become an opulent citizen. But the times were sadly *un-favourable*. The country was drifting into civil war, and within four years after Elizabeth Gray was interred in her parish church, Tyneside became the theatre of

* It is assumed that the Elizabeth Gray herein named was the widow of Cuthbert, because no other interment of a person bearing her name can be found at St. Nicholas's until 1661, when Cuthbert's widow would be about eighty years of age. Her name does not appear in William Gray's will, dated 1656, and it is barely conceivable that he would have omitted her if she had been living. Yet in the Journals of the House of Commons, November 26, 1644, one "Eliz. Grey," (of what town or county is not stated) occurs among others, as obtaining from Parliament restitution of "collieries, and coals that are upon the stathes, stands, and collieries."

military operations which crippled local industry, and for some time practically suspended the coal trade. Newcastle, being one of the "malignant" towns, suffered heavily. William Gray saw the fine estate left by his father gradually impoverished, and he solaced himself by writing a book. The year after King Charles's execution it was published, and he that runs may read in it traces of sadness, proofs that the writer was a man chastened by misfortune.

This Town famous (he writes), being a bulwarke against the Scots: all the power of Scotland could never win it since the walls were built; but of late being assisted by the English, was stormed, our churches and houses defaced, the ornaments of both plundered, and carried away, the crowne of our heads is fallen, woe now unto us for we have sinned.

In the same pathetic strain he describes his more personal experiences:—

Many thousand people are employed in this trade of Coales; many live by working of them in the Pits; many live by conveying them in Waggon and Wain to the River Tine; many men are employed in conveying the Coales in Keels from the Staithes aboard the Ships; one Coale Merchant employeth five hundred or a thousand in his Works of Coale; yet for all his labour care and cost can scarce live of his trade; nay, many of them hath consumed and spent great estates and dyed beggars. I can remember one, of many, that raysted his estate by Coale-trade; many I remember that hath wasted great estates. . . . they labour and are at a great charge to maintain men to work their Collieries, they waste their own bodies with care, and their Collieries with working, the kernell being eaten out of the nut, there remaineth nothing but the shell, their Collieries is wasted, and their moneys is consumed: this is the uncertainty of Mines; a great charge, the profit uncertain.

Beyond the fact that he had made preparations for a second edition of his book we know but little of the after life of the first historian of Newcastle; indeed nothing certain except the making of his will, the contents of which have been recently summarised by Mr. Longstaffe. He may have been the William Gray who was married to Margaret Gray of Sudick, in September, 1655, when he was fifty years old and she twenty-three, but if so it is noticeable that none of the names which usually appear in connection with this family—neither Huntley nor Ellison—occur in the record, and that the will, dated only fifteen months later, contains no reference to a wife, nor to any of Margaret Gray's family. The matter is further complicated by the fact that of three contemporaneous William Grays in Newcastle, one was a mer-

chant, a son of Francis Gray, preacher at St. Andrew's, and that he, having been apprenticed to Joseph Tully, 26th November, 1644, would be about twenty-five years of age at the time when this marriage was celebrated. The entry of the marriage is, however, worth preserving, for it shows that the bridegroom availed himself of an Act only two years old, which withdrew from the clergy the exclusive right to celebrate marriage, and extended the privilege to justices of the peace. Under that statute, banns of marriage were to be published either on three Sundays at church, or on three successive weekly market days in the open Market Place. This done, and performance certified by a Registrar, the contracting parties might appear before a justice with the certificate, and joining hands, say: "I, A. B., do here, in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee, C. D., for my wedded wife; and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving and faithful husband," the woman repeating the formula with the necessary alterations and addition of the words "and obedient" after the word "faithful."

The register of St. Nicholas's sets out the proclamation of banns preceding this marriage of the Grays in due form:—

William Gray, of the towne and countie of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, marchant, and Margaret Gray, daughter of George Gray, of Sudick, in the countie of Durham, gentleman, published three severall Lord's daies according to Act of Parliament, in the parish Church of Nicholas ["St." omitted] in the said towne and countie, (to wit) the second, ninth, and sixteenth of September, in the year 1655.

On another page, belonging to the same month, is entered the marriage:—

William Gray, of the towne and countie of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, marchant, and Margaret Gray, daughter to George Gray, of Sudick, in the countie of Durham, gentleman, married by Mr Thomas Bonner, alderman and justice of the peace for the towne and countie of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

(Signed)

THOMAS BONNER.

(Witnesses) JOHN BOWES, ROBERT JENISON, jr.

After the making of his will (December, 1656), William Gray lived seventeen years. Under what circumstances and in what position we know not. It is open to conjecture that his estate passed into the hands of his brother-in-law and principal legatee, Robert Ellison, upon conditions which relieved the historian from the cares of business, and

enabled him to spend his declining years in his old home in the Side, which the Ellisons occupied. The inventory of his goods and chattels favours this view, for, apart from his purse, apparel, and library, he had barely £15 worth of household gear, and most of it was in two rooms—"his owne chamber" and "the next chamber." (See Appendix II.) He died in February, 1673-74, aged 72, and was buried among his ancestors in the great church under whose shadow he was born, and baptised, and lived his troubled life. Once more the Register:—

Feb. 7, 1673. Wm. Gray, mchant., bur.

It cannot be doubted that this entry records the burial of the historian, for it was in that same month of February that the inventory was drawn up, and that Robert Ellison proved the will and borrowed it, never to be returned. There is also a corroborative line in the books of the Merchants' Company, to the drapers' branch of which powerful fraternity, like his father and grandfather, he belonged:—

1673. William Gray, draper, ceases.

Of John Gray, William's only brother, and Anne, his second sister, local history yields no trace, and in the parish registers they cannot be identified.

Margaret, the elder sister, married Robert Procter, and died before 1656. Her son William, named after his godfather, the historian, may have been the William Procter who was Sheriff of Newcastle in 1684.

Ellinor was united to Robert Harle, merchant. He was present at the wedding dinner of George Yonge and Barbara Carr when the dispute arose between John Blakiston (afterwards regicide) and Vicar Alvey. On the 19th October, 1644, when the Scots made their final assault and entered Newcastle, he was buried at St. Nicholas's, with Captain Robert Whyte and Lieut. Robert Kirsop—being possibly one of the combatants.

Rebecca married on the 18th February, 1635-36, William, brother of Sir Lionel Maddison, and being left a widow ten years later became the wife of William Rutter, whose burial place, according to Bourne, was in the middle aisle of St. Nicholas's.

Dorothy married one Oswald, but of her or of him we know nothing more than is contained in her brother's will.

Deborah, on the 24th January, 1641–42, was united to Robert Ile, merchant and apothecary, of whose ancestors and descendants Mr. Longstaffe treats copiously in his *History of Darlington*. She died during the festival of Christmas, 1666, and was buried at St. Nicholas's.

Elizabeth, named after her mother, was the most fortunate of the family. She married a relative of one of her father's early friends—Robert, son of Cuthbert Ellison, and he, rising to a high position in the Commonwealth, and purchasing the estate of Hebburn, became the progenitor of a race that has left its mark upon Tyneside. Their eldest son, Cuthbert, was heir of Hebburn, the 3rd son was ancestor of the Ellisons of Lintz, the 6th was Dr. Nathaniel Ellison, vicar of Newcastle, while one of the daughters, Elizabeth (mother's name still) married William Fenwick of Stanton, and thus formed an alliance with one of the oldest and proudest of the county families of Northumberland.

Through the marriage of Elizabeth Ellison and William Fenwick has been preserved to us the better of two known autographs of William Gray. One of them is in the volume presented by Lady Northbourne to Gateshead Free Library, the other is on the back of the marriage settlement of this young couple, made "the one and twentieth day of February in the year of Our Lord God according to the common account used in England 1659, between Edward Fenwick of Stanton, in the county of Northumberland, Esq., and now High-Sheriff of the said county, and Sara, his wife, William Fenwick, son and heir apparent of the said Edward Fenwick, Peter Fenwick, second son of the said Edward Fenwick, and Francis Neville of Chete, otherwise Chevitt, in the county of York, Esq., on the first part; Robert Ellison of Hebborne, in the county of Durham, and now High-Sheriff of the said county, and Benjamin Ellison of the town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant, on the second part; and William Fenwick of Wallington, in the county of Northumberland, baronet, and Christopher Nicholson of the said town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant and boothman, on the third part." [Robert Ellison gives his daughter a marriage portion of seven hundred pounds, and Edward Fenwick provides her jointure out of the manor of Stanton, subject to a rent charge of 30*l* payable to Francis Neville.] William Gray was a witness to the deed by which his niece was transferred from Hebburn

to Stanton, and he has written his name over those of his relatives, Robert Ile and Robert Huntley, in a clear, bold hand :—

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the within-named Edward, Sara, and William Fenwick, and Robert Ellison, Benjamin Ellison, William Fenwick, and Christopher Nicholson in the presence of

with Gray.

ROBERT ILE,
ROBERT HUNTLEY,
HENRY WETHERLEY,
JOHN WEST,
EDWD. COLLINGWOOD.

It may be noted, in concluding these fragmentary evidences of Cuthbert Gray and his family, that both Surtees and Hodgson, in their pedigrees of the Ellisons, describe Elizabeth Gray as the daughter of "Cuthbert Gray of Newcastle and Backworth." But in Cuthbert Gray's will no mention is made of any property or interest in that place, or in any adjoining locality. The earliest association of "Gray" and "Backworth" appears to be upon a tombstone in St. Nicholas's, which records the death of Alderman "Ralph Grey," on the 5th December, 1676, and "Ralph Grey of Backworth, in the county of Northumberland, Gent.," 19th November, 1699; the latter being presumably a son of the former, and the former being possibly the "cousin Ralph," or his son, to whom Cuthbert Gray bequeaths an angel in token of his relationship and remembrance.

APPENDIX I.

THE WILL OF CUTHBERT GRAY.

IN the name of God, Amen. The Nineteenth day of April, Anno Regni regis James of England, &c., the 21st, and of Scotland the 56th, 1623. I, Cuthbert Gray, of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Merchant, being weak in body, but of a good and perfect remembrance, thanks and praise be given to Almighty God, do make and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say): First and principally, I commend and commit my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker, and his Son, Jesus Christ, my

Redeemer, by whom and through whose precious death and blessedness I hope to receive pardon and forgiveness of all my sins. My body I commit unto the earth from whence it came, to be buried within the parish church of St. Nicholas, within the Town of Newcastle-upon [*sic* in orig.], at the lower end of the said church, within the same place where my late father, John Gray, was buried; and as for the worldly goods which the Lord hath endowed me withall, I give and bequeath as followeth:—Item: I give and bequeath unto the poor people the sum of five pounds, to be distributed to them at the discretion of my executors hereafter named. Item: I give and bequeath unto my son, William Gray, all those my houses, lands, grounds, and mills, with their appurtenances, situate and being without Pandon Gate, which are known of late to belong or appertain unto me, together with all rents and profits whatsoever thereupon arising, and also all those my burgages or tenements, with their appurtenances, situate in Gateshead, in a street there called Hillgaite, one whereof is now in the occupation of Roger Brankeston, another in the occupation of Richard Browne, another in the occupation of one Bourie, another in the occupation of one Green, and another in the occupation of one Sharpe, together also with the full moiety and one half of all those my coal mines, houses, edifices, buildings, garths, profits, and commodities, with their appurtenances, and the other half thereof doth appertain or belong to Robert Huntley, merchant, deceased, his executors and administrators, and George Huntley, to have and to hold all the said houses, lands, grounds, and mills, together with the moiety of the said coal mines, with their appurtenances, unto my said son William Gray, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever, and for default of such issue, unto my son John Gray, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever, and for default of such issue, then unto my daughters Margaret, Anne, Ellynor, Elisabeth, Rebecca, Dorothy, and Deborah Gray, equally to be divided amongst them, and the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever. Item: I give and bequeath unto my said son John Gray all that great mansion house, with all houses, edifices, buildings, garths, gardens, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, which was late known to be Marley's land, situate and being in the Sid, within the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne aforesaid, to have and to hold all the said mansion house, with the appurtenances, unto my said son John Gray, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever, and for default of such issue, unto my son William Gray, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever, and for default of such issue, then unto my said daughters, Margaret, Anne, Ellynor, Elisabeth, Rebeckah, Dorothy, and Deborah Gray, equally to be divided amongst them and their heirs for ever. Item: My will and mind is that Elisabeth, my now wife, shall have her thirds forth of all the aforesaid lands, tenements, and premises above mentioned for and during her natural life. Item: I give and bequeath unto the said Elisabeth, my wife, all that my great mansion house, with the appurtenances, wherein I now dwell, situate in the Sidd aforesaid, together with all my plate, furniture, and implements of household stuff thereunto belonging for and during her natural life, and after her death and decease I give and bequeath the said mansion house, plate, and the implements of household stuff, with their appurtenances, unto my said son William Gray, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever, and for default of such issue, unto my said son John Gray, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever, and for default of such issue, then unto the said Margaret, Anne, Ellynor, Elisabeth, Rebeckah, Dorothy, and Deborah Gray, equally to be divided amongst them and their heirs for ever. Item: I give and bequeath unto my said son John Gray one hundred pounds for and towards the repair and building of the said mansion house called Marley's land, also other two hundred pounds to be paid to him, the said John, when he shall accomplish the full age of twenty-one years. Item: I give and bequeath unto the said Elisabeth, my wife, all my leases of lands, tenements, and coal mines, with their appurtenances, in Newbiggine, Heigham Dicks, Bellasses, Newham, Whitbie Moor, and East Denton, with all staith rooms thereunto belonging, for and during her natural life, together with all my ships, keels, stock, furniture, and

appurtenances thereunto belonging; and after her decease my will and mind is that the aforesaid leases, with the appurtenances, shall be equally divided between my said sons William and John Gray, and failing of them, then the aforesaid leases, benefits, and profits thereupon arising to redown unto my aforesaid seven daughters, equally to be divided amongst them. Item: I give unto my said daughters, Margaret, Anne, Ellynor, Elisabeth, Rebecca, Dorothy, and Debora Gray, and every one of them, two hundred pounds a piece, and my will is that the same shall be paid unto them when they come to their several lawful years of age, or otherwise be lawfully married, and my mind further is that if my said daughters, or any of them, die in the meantime and depart this mortal life then the portion or portions of such daughter or daughters so dying shall be equally [*sic*] amongst the rest of my said daughters who shall be then living. Item: I give and bequeath unto my brother Edward Gray one twenty shilling piece, and to his wife and his son Thomas, and to either of them, ten shillings a piece. Item: I give unto my brother-in-law, Jacob fferinsid, xx^s. piece of gold, and to every one of his four children an Angel for a token. Item: I give and bequeath unto my sister, Elisabeth Gray, xx^s. Item: I give unto my uncle, Cuthbert Anderson, and to his wife, either of them, xx^s. and to their daughter Elisabeth xx^s. and to their son, Robert Anderson, x^s. Item: I give and bequeath unto my brother, John Butler, and his wife, and to either of them, one Angel, and to every one of their children an Angel a piece. Item: I give unto my cousin, John Mitford, one Angel, and to his son Robert another Angel. Item: I give to my cousin, Ralph Gray, and Elisabeth his wife, and to either of them, an Angel. Item: I give to my brother-in-law, George Huntley, twenty shillings, his wife ten shillings, and to every one of the said George his children x^s. a piece. Item: I give unto my brother, Henry Anderson, and his wife, to William Huntley, her son, and to the rest of her children, and to every of them, x^s. a piece. Item: I give to Mr. Poore, Vicar, xx^s. and to his wife x^s. Item: I give to Mr. Robert Jenison xx^s. and to my cousin Ward x^s. Item: I give and bequeath to Mr. Alvie, preacher, and to Mr. Gray, either of them, an Angel. Item: I give unto my brother, William Gray, five pounds, and to my brother, Oswald Gray, twenty pounds. Item: I give unto Mr. Robert Henderson, physician ["phesetion,"] xx^s. Item: I give unto my servant, Robert Gray, ten pounds, to be paid unto him within two years next after my death, to his wife xx^s. and to every one of his children x^s. Item: I give to Ellynor Ruarton v^s. to Christian Hall v^s. and to either of my other two women servants xij^d. a piece. Item: I give to my man, Thomas Mason, x^s. to Michael Rand x^s. to my staithman, Roger Davison, xx^s. to my overman, Michael Robinson, xl^s. Item: I give to every householder in Newbiggine who have continued and dwelt there for the space of three years now last past every of them v^s. a piece. Item: I give to James Hensley, of Walbottle, x^s. to Henry Hall, of Heigham, x^s. and to my hird of Heigham x^s. And as to the rest of my goods and chattels, as well moveable as un-moveable, my debts, legacies, and funeral expenses being paid and discharged, I give and bequeath unto the said Elisabeth, my wife, whom I make and ordain my full and sole Executor of this my last Will and testament, and I ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Jacob fferinside, John Butler, Edward Gray, Robert Gray, and John Mitford to be Supervisors of this my last will and testament, hoping that they will see all things executed and performed according to the tenor of this my last Will, and according to the trust and confidence which in them I do repose. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed, CUTH. GRAY. (Seal, plain.)

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

BULMAN ILE.

HENRY HALL.

ANTHONY NORRAN, Scr.

INVENTORY, DATED 28 APRIL, 1623.

On the staith at Denton, 5 tens of coals	...	...	...	18 <i>l</i> .
At Whitbie Moore, 20 tens	..	...	...	40 <i>l</i> .

NEWBIGGEN PITS.

At the East Pit	...	...	...	12 tens of coals, at 33 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> . per ten.
" Pit within the Dyke	...	...	7	"
" First Pit in the Moore	...	...	18	"
" Middle	"	"	4	"
" Third	"	"	6	" and coals of the value of about 216 <i>l</i> . 6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .

LEASES OF COLLIERIES.

8th part of Dunstle Coal Mine, from Wm. Emerson	...	...	30 <i>l</i> .
" Athe's Lease	...	...	40 <i>l</i> .
" Broom Close, Stoney Copper, and Eckwell Hill	...	...	40 <i>l</i> .
Lease of Coal and Ground at Newbiggen Quarter, and half the coal mine	...	...	50 <i>l</i> .

EAST DENTON.

Half of divers leases of certain coal mines in Gateshead	...	10 <i>l</i> .
Lease of Higham Dykes	...	50 <i>l</i> .
" Bellesees	...	50 <i>l</i> .
Lease for three lives of the mill and ground in Paynter Hewgh,	13 <i>l</i> . 6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .	
Leases of parcel of ground at Newham	...	50 <i>l</i> .

OF SHIPPING.

The Diligence, of Ipswich, of 3-16th part	...	60 <i>l</i> .
Of one quarter of the Prudence	...	80 <i>l</i> .
Of the one twelfth part of the Unity, of Ipswich	...	30 <i>l</i> .
Of the 18th part of the Mary Susan,	"	20 <i>l</i> .
6 Keels	...	7 <i>l</i> .

1623, May 19.—Will of Cuthbert Gray, of the parish of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, proved by Bulman Ile and Henry Hall, witnesses thereto, and administration of goods committed to Elizabeth Gray, his widow, who was appointed Guardian, &c., of John, Margaret, Agnes, Ellinor, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Dorothy, and Deborah. Personalty, 2138*l*. 18*s*. 9*d*.

APPENDIX II.

THE WILL OF WILLIAM GRAY.

IN the name of God, Amen. I, William Gray, of the town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Merchant, being in good health and of sound and perfect memory, blessed be God, and knowing it is appointed unto all men once to die, and not knowing how soon it may please the Lord to call me out of this transitory life, being willing and desirous that what estate it hath pleased God to bless me with, immediately after my death should go unto whom I really and only intend it, and that there may be no variance nor suit between my kindred and friends for or concerning the same, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, that is to say :—First of all I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God my most glorious Creator and

merciful father in Christ Jesus, being assured by a true and lively faith in his blood to have the free pardon and forgiveness of all my sins, and being made partaker of eternal glory. And for my body I commend it again to the earth from whence it was taken there to rest in hope until it shall be raised up again by the and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, and become the first fruits of them that sleep in Christ, desiring it may be buried and interred in a comely and decent manner in the burial place of my ancestors in Saint Nicholas' Church, in the said town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. And whereas I have been very much engaged and beholding to my brother-in-law, Robert Ellison, of Newcastle, aforesaid, Merchant, and to his wife, my sister, Elisabeth Ellison, upon all occasions and straights whatsoever, and have found much comfort and contentment in my dwelling and cohabiting with them, I give and bequeath to my said brother, Robert Ellison, his heirs and assigns for ever, all those my lands and tenements hereafter in and by these presents mentioned, specified, and expressed, that is to say, all that my message or tenement with the appurtenances situate and being in the said town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in a street there called the Side, and now in the tenure or occupation of the said Robert Ellison or his assigns. Also I give and bequeath unto the said Robert Ellison, my brother, all that my other message or tenement with the appurtenances situate and being in the said town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the street aforesaid called the Side, and now in the several tenures or occupations of my sister, Ellenor Harle, widow, James Pringle, tailor, Ralph Romaine, upholsterer, and Robert Huntley, merchant, their heirs or assigns. Also, I give and bequeath unto the said Robert Ellison, my brother-in-law, all my lands and tenements in Pandon, within the liberties of the said town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, that is to say, one message or tenement and garden or close of land called Pandon Dean Close, now in the tenure or occupation of Mary Rowell, widow, or her assigns; two closes of land lying and adjoining near the King's Dikes, now in the tenure or occupation of John Aire, miller, or his assigns; one close of land called Dawson's Close or Bank Close, now in the tenure or occupation of William Farmer, or his assigns; one close of land called by the name of the Paddock Close, now in the tenure or occupation of David Shevell, chirurgeon; one close of land called the Tyler's Close; one message or tenement, lately built, now in the tenure or occupation of Margery Airey, widow, and John Ladon, and their assigns; two messages or tenements and a garth near unto Pandon Gate, now in the tenure or occupation of George Vertue, or his assigns. Also, I give and bequeath unto the said Robert Ellison, my brother, his heirs and assigns, for ever, all and every my houses, messages, and tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, situate, lying, and being without Pandon Gate, within the liberties of the town and county of Newcastle, aforesaid, in whose possession, tenure, or occupation soever they be, and all other my lands, tenements, and hereditaments in any place whatsoever, within the Nation and Commonwealth of England, as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as if they had been particularly and by their several and proper names herein by these presents mentioned, specified, and expressly declared. Also, I give and bequeath unto my God-son, William Proctor, son of my sister, Margaret Proctor, the sum of one hundred pounds of lawful English money, to be paid unto him within one year after my death. Also, I give unto God-daughter Jane Proctor, daughter of the said Margaret Proctor, the sum of one hundred pounds of like English money, to be paid unto her within one year after my death. Provided always, and it is my true intent and meaning, that unless the said William Proctor and Jane Proctor, their executors and administrators, do before the payment of the said several and respective sums of one hundred pounds, give unto my executor herein, and by these presents named, good and sufficient security by bond in the sum of four hundred pounds, to save, keep harmless, and indemnify my said executor from time to time, or at all times hereafter of and from all and every mortgage or mortgages, statutes, recognizances, judgments, bonds, bills, debts, duties, actions, suits, recognizances, accounts, claims, and demands whatsoever, which their father, Robert Proctor, in his lifetime, or his heirs, executors, or administrators, or all or any of them

had, or at any time hereafter may have against me, the said William Gray, my heirs, executors or administrators, or any of them, for and concerning the same, that then my said Executor shall pay neither of the said sums of one hundred pounds, but shall keep and detain them in his hands until both of them shall do and perform the same. Also, whereas I have by one deed indented bearing date the 6th March, 1655, demised unto my sister, Ellenor Harle, widow, the house wherein she now dwelleth, situate in Newcastle, in a street there called the Side, and two shops belonging to the same, the one of them as was in the tenure or occupation of the said Ellenor Harle, and the other in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Teasdale, feltmaker, for the term of eleven years from Candlemas last past before the date hereof, for the yearly rent of a peppercorn in the first year, and for seven pounds a year for the other ten years, payable at Lammas and Candlemas, as by the said Indenture whereunto reference being had, and more at large it may and doth appear, I give and bequeath the said yearly rent, and every part and parcel thereof, for and during the term of the said demise, unto my said sister, Ellenor Harle, and her son, Edward Harle. Provided always, and it is my true intent and meaning, that unless my said sister, Ellenor Harle, and her son, Edward Harle, do before the keeping back and detaining of the said yearly rent in their hand, give unto my said executor good and sufficient security by bond in the sum of two hundred pounds, to save, keep harmless, and indemnify my said executor from all mortgage or mortgages, statutes, recognizances, judgments, bonds, bills, and demands whatsoever, which her husband, Robert Harle, merchant, deceased, in his lifetime, the said Ellenor, my sister, or the said Edward, her son, or the executors or administrators of the said Robert Harle, or any other persons whatsoever claiming by, from, or under them, or any of them, may have against me the said William Gray, my heirs, executors or administrators, for or concerning the same, that then my said executor shall yearly and every year during the whole term of the said demise take and receive the yearly rent in the said demise reserved. Also, I give and bequeath unto Samuel Ellison, one of the sons of my said brother and sister Ellison, one hundred pounds of lawful English money to be paid unto him when he shall attain the age of eighteen years, and if it shall please God he depart this life before he attains to that age, I give and bequeath the said sum of one hundred pounds unto his younger brother and next in age unto him, to be paid unto him when he shall attain eighteen years. Also, I give unto my sister, Dorothy Oswald, ten pounds a year for life. Also, I give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Maddison, daughter of my sister Rebeckah, now wife unto William Rutter, draper, fifty pounds of lawful English money, to be paid to her two years after my death. I give and bequeath unto the eldest daughter of my said sister, Rebeckah Rutter, which she hath by her husband, William Rutter, the sum of fifty pounds of like money, to be paid unto her when she attains sixteen years; but if it please God she depart this life before she be sixteen years old, then I give and bequeath the same to her younger sister, that is next in age to her, to be paid unto her when she shall be sixteen years. Also, I give unto Anne Ile, daughter unto my sister Deborah, wife to my brother Robert Ile, merchant, one hundred pounds, to be paid to her when she accomplish sixteen years, and if it please God she depart before she attains to the said age, then I bequeath the same to her next younger sister, and so to every sister successively; but if it please God that they all die before they or any of them attain their respective ages of sixteen years, then I give and bequeath the said sum of one hundred pounds unto Bulmer Ile, eldest son of the said Robert and Deborah Ile, to be paid to him when he shall accomplish his full age of twenty-one, and if it please God the said Bulmer Ile depart this life before that time, then I give and bequeath the same to the younger brother of the said Bulmer, and next of age to him, to be paid to him when he shall accomplish the age of twenty-one, and if he die before he be of that age, then to his younger brother, and so from brother to brother successively. Also, I give and bequeath unto my brother-in-law, William Rutter, and my sister, Elisabeth, his wife, to each of them twenty shillings. Also, I give unto my sister, Elisabeth Ellison, and my nephew, Cuthbert Ellison, her son, and my niece, Elisabeth Ellison, her daughter, to every

of them twenty shillings. Also, I give and bequeath unto my cousin, Edward Harle, twenty shillings; to my cousin, Robert Huntlie, merchant, twenty shillings; to Mr. Stephen Dockwray, preacher, twenty shillings; to Mr. Robert Prideaux, twenty shillings; to Mr. William Cole, twenty shillings; and last, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of Saint Nicholas, in Newcastle, aforesaid, the sum of three pounds, to be disposed of at the discretion of my Executor of this my last Will and Testament. I do hereby make and ordain my said brother, Robert Ellison, my sole and only Executor. And I do hereby revoke, adnull, and make void, all and every other former Wills and Testaments whatsoever by me at any time heretofore made and ordained. In Witness whereof, I, the said William Gray, have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 8th December, 1656.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

WILLIAM ATELL.

ROBERT CARR.

ISAAC ATELL.

[Examined with the original by me, GAB. NEWHOUSE, Registrar].

Be it known unto all men by these presents that whereas I, William Gray, of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Merchant, by my last Will and Testament in writing, bearing date the 8th December, 1656, did give unto my God-son, William Proctor, son of my sister, Margaret Proctor, deceased, one hundred pounds, to be paid unto him within one year after my death, as in my will doth appear. And whereas for diverse good causes and considerations me, the said William Gray, specially moving, I have since the making of my said will paid the said sum of one hundred pounds unto the said William Proctor. Now know ye I, the said William Gray, do by this codicil revoke my said gift of the said sum of one hundred pounds unto the said William Proctor. In witness whereof I have to this present codicil set my hand and seal the 27th March, 1658.

[Examined with the original by me, GABRIEL NEWHOUSE, Registrar].

Upon a sheet of paper attached to copy of the Will at Durham.

Mem: that I, Robert Ellison, Esq., executor of the last Will and Testament of William Gray, late of Newcastle, Merchant, deceased, do hereby acknowledge that I have received the original will of the said deceased from the hands of Mr. Gabriel Newhouse, Principal Registrar of the Consistory Court of Durham, which I do hereby engage well and safely to preserve and keep, and deliver the same into the said Registrar's office, whenever there shall be any occasion to use the same. Witness my hand this 23 February, 1673.

(Signed,) ROBERT ELLISON.

Witnesses, RICHARD WATERHOUSE.

ROBERT BULMAN, Not. Pub.

INVENTORY OF WM. GRAY'S GOODS, &c.

A true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the goodes and chattells whereof William Grey, late of the towne and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Merchant, dyed possessed, taken and appraised the 10th day of February Anno Regis Carol. sec'ndi nunc Angl' Vicesimo Sexto, Anno D'm 1673, by Robert Mitford, Wm. Huntley, Edward Freeman, and Christopher Greetham, pewterer.

In his owne Chamber.

Imps: One Standing Bedd, one paire of Curtings and Vallance,
one feather Bedd, Bolster, and pillow, one paire of
Blanketts, one rug and curteing Rods ij*l*. *xs.* *id.*
Itt: Three old wooden chaires, one large greene chaire, two high
greene chaires, Leaven stooles, two low greene chaires ... *ijl.* *vijs.* *ijd.*

Itt: Eight old pictures and a map of England	...	...	...	iiij <i>s.</i> v <i>j</i> d.
Itt: One paire of hornes	...	...	...	x <i>j</i> s. iiij <i>d.</i>
Itt: Two old trunckes	...	...	...	iiij <i>s.</i>

In the next chamber.

Itt : One old bedstedd, one longsatie bedd, one large chest	...	vjs.	vii <i>d</i> .
Itt : Two bedstedds, two stript curtaines and paire of vallance, one close bedd, one dresser frame	... ..	iz.	is. ij <i>d</i> .
Itt : One Table in the Clossett or studdy	... ..	ijs.	iii <i>d</i> .
Itt : One old Chaire and one old Desk	... ..	is.	v <i>d</i> .
Itt : One pieter Box	... ..		v <i>d</i> .
Itt : fflower long cushin and sixteen small old Cushions, sixteene cushion	... ..		x <i>s</i> .

In the fore Chamber.

Itt: ffifteen course Napkins, ffifteene course striped Napkins,
twelve laid work Napkins, six plaine Napkins, and two
dozen and ffive Diap Napkins, ffive diap table clothes,
three Diap dresser cloathes, one large diap towell, two
lynneing towells, five short towells, a spreedeing sheete
and two lawne aprons, one spreedeing sheete of one
breedth and an halfe, three ffine table cloathes, three
coarse table cloathes, nynteene pillowess, eight paire of
lynneing sheetes, five old sheetes, and one chist iiij*l.* v*js.* v*jd.*
Itt: One bedd stead ii*js.* iiij*d.*

In the Dyneing Room.

Itt : Three pictures and one table xiiijs. **xd.**

In the love Hall.

Itt: One small marbell table	xs.
Itt: One greene ffringe dresser cloth, and one greene table cloth	iijs. viijd.
Itt: One Turkie table cloth and one greene dresser cloth ...	xxxvj ^s . viijd.
Itt: The deceased's purse, apparell, and library	xv ^l .

Sum xxixl. xvjs. iiid.

Signed, ROBT. MITFORD.
WILLIA. HUNTLEY.
EDWARD FREEMAN.
RICHD. WALL.
CHRISTOPH. GREETHAM.

IX.—THE ROMAN ANNEXATION OF BRITAIN.

(From the *Deutsche Rundschau*, 8th May, 1878.)

BY PROF. EMIL HÜBNER, LL.D.

[Translated from the German by Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L., Secretary,
and read on the 6th August, 1884.]

To the individual man in his normal state, and to the commonwealth in a condition of health, the *possibility* of developing their natural powers and gifts in ever widening circles is alike a necessary condition of life. We object, however, to that view of historical events which looks upon each successive stage in the life of the individual or of the nation as necessary results of their internal organisation, as well as to the view, equally erroneous, though in an opposite direction, which makes the march of events depend entirely on chaotic actions and reactions in "national instincts," the "struggle for existence," and such like. Just as we see soul and body, spirit and matter, everywhere acting upon and limiting one another, driving and driven, conditioning and conditioned, so is it in the field of history; and her task, her ever new and attractive task, never perhaps capable of entire fulfilment, continues to be the decision at each successive stage of the world's progress, how far necessity or caprice, law, or what we call chance, conscious will, or yielding weakness contributed as factors to the great result. This ever-recurring problem presents especial difficulties in those many instances of ancient and modern history, where the mighty impulse of an earlier age continued to exert an unmistakeable influence over events, while the visible actors in the drama seemed little adequate to the task assigned to them, and often appeared to be acting well-nigh unconsciously, urged onward by the inner might of human affairs. No side of the political life of the Romans has been more persistently or more universally misjudged than their policy of conquest. It would be vain to deny the fact apprehended by the more keen-sighted among the Romans themselves, the poets and historians of the Augustan age, that their foreign conquests, and their contact with Phœnician, Greek, and Asiatic over-civilisation brought about the decay of the good old customs, the disappearance of simplicity, justice, and truth. It might, however, be a hard task for those old critics of the course pursued by Roman statesmen, as well as for their modern imitators, to indicate how those conquests should have been avoided, or what other policy

should have been adopted instead of them. If we put out of sight the annexation of Italy, which (whatever be our opinion as to the morality of the individual acts which brought it to pass) may undoubtedly, as a whole, be considered as the necessary consequence of the development of the Latin people, and the acquisition of the "natural frontier" which belonged to them, it is capable of immediate demonstration that the acquisition of the first trans-marine provinces of foreign tongue, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the two Spanish provinces was the necessary consequence of the struggle with Carthage. The oriental conquests next following—Illyricum, Macedon, Achaia, and afterwards the erection of the two Pro-consulates, Asia and Africa, however indefensible the legal titles on which they were founded, show in the clearest manner the same prescribed course of political development on the large scale, which was destined to smooth away the oppositions between the new state-system of the west and the Hellenised civilisation of the east, and at the same time, to build up, as the sixth was passing into the seventh century of Rome (B.C. 150), the future unity of classical culture in politics and faith, in literature and art, in morals and human life.

True, the motives of the annexations following these in the seventh century of the state, the time of the Gracchi and of Sulla, are less easily discernible. They are partly strategic, and are connected with the desire to find the shortest lines of communication between Italy and the provinces, and between one province and another. Partly they are political, and connected with the necessity, or at any rate the expediency, of attaining extended space for colonisation. It was thus that Gallia Cisalpina and the Narbonensian province of Gallia Transalpina were added to the state. Political and strategical reasons, partly of doubtful advantage, and therewith the hunger for land and gold of the individual *optimates*, a hunger which was showing itself more and more shamelessly, and which was now hardly veiled by the forms of the republican constitution, explain the rounding-off of the Asiatic and African estate by the addition of Bithynia, Cyrene, and Crete, and finally of the Syrian province. But after all, this rounding-off process was never brought to a satisfactory termination.

It would be an attractive and profitable enquiry to follow the different phases of the Roman policy of annexation during the republican period; and this enquiry would well illustrate the phenomena which, notwithstanding all the difference of circumstances, recur with striking analogies in modern States; those, for instance, which have attended the consolidation of Italy and Germany, and those which prepared the way for the bloody dismemberment of the Ottoman monarchy by the Slavs, now going on under our own eyes (1878). For instance, the sharp contrast which has been so often noticed between the formation and government of new provinces where there was already a sub-stratum of Hellenic culture, as in Sicily, Greece, and Asia, and the laborious Romanisation of the barbarian lands of the west and north. Spain, Gaul, and Illyricum would well deserve to be presented in detail to the minds of those who may not have the oppor-

tunity of availing themselves of the excellent material provided in such scientific works as Joachim Marquardt's *Roman Administration*. Our authorities are tolerably abundant, for the history of the conquest and administration of the *Spanish* provinces, the first great expanse of territory destitute of an older civilisation upon which was tried the experiment of colonisation resting on a military government. But before it is possible to draw a more accurate picture than has yet been seen of the work of the brothers Publius and Gnaeus Scipio (the early wearers of that illustrious name), some preliminary researches in Ethnology have to be completed, the foundation for which is laid by the study—till now too much neglected—of ancient coins with Iberian inscriptions.

All this must remain over for examination on some future occasion. For our present purpose it suffices to have briefly hinted at the earlier annexations to the Roman state, in order thereby to facilitate an accurate comprehension of those which followed from the time of Augustus, one alone of which is the subject of the following essay.

In the history of annexations, as in all the other departments of political life, without exception, a new epoch begins with Caesar. Suffice it here to indicate that the work which he put in hand by the conquest of Gaul, the "subjugation of the west," must be looked upon as only the beginning of a series of magnificent enterprises, by which he proposed thoroughly to regenerate the Roman state, both internally and externally. When the most short-sighted of all political crimes that were ever perpetrated, the assassination of Julius, suddenly arrested his brilliant career, rich in blessings for the world, the foundation of the new government so sorely needed by the vast dependencies of Rome, was not yet laid. On his successor lay the necessity, by fair means or foul, to bring this, like all the other thoughts of his uncle, to completion. It is known, though perhaps the fact has not yet been sufficiently brought out, how far, in all respects, Augustus Caesar lagged behind his great exemplar. True, he was able to boast, in the record of his deeds, publicly displayed in all the temples of the goddess Roma (some copies of which are preserved to our own day), that he had extended the bounds of all the Roman provinces, and added not a few new ones. In the north he annexed the Alpine lands, Raetia, Noricum, and the Alpes Maritimae; in the east the Danubian lands, Mœsia and Pannonia, besides a multitude of Asiatic territories—Galatia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, with the island of Cyprus; in the south the Egyptian monarchy, now, for the first time, incorporated with the empire; in the west he completed the subjugation of Spain, and for the further protection of the Gaulish lands he constituted the military frontier of the Rhine. Also he sent fleets and armies to the utmost extremities of the then known world, and entered into diplomatic relations with the most diverse foreign princes and nations. But more closely considered, this world-empire, however magnificent it might seem to contemporaries, shows considerable gaps and flaws. That curious piece of political conjuring by which the constitution of the empire became a republic and a monarchy combined, or rather

neither of the two, but a dyarchy in which power was shared between the Emperor and the Senate, all which we now recognise more clearly in consequence of Mommsen's researches, operated with specially ill effects on the two foundations of provincial administration, the organisation of the army, and the collection of the taxes.

For nearly two centuries longer did it endure, until the Roman Empire embraced, at least approximately, the nucleus and the larger masses of the then accessible "orbis terrarum," not without some changes in the course of years. Here one ring of the chain was dropped, there another was narrowed or extended. "Tantæ molis erat," such constantly renewed effort through many centuries was needed in order to make actual the dream so often dreamed before and since, but never so nearly realized as by Rome—the dream of universal domination. Every single act in that long chain of events ought to be apprehended as one of a series. Yet it is also just as necessary in considering each to define the special impulse which brought it to pass, and to separate from the inner law of necessity, which is common to all, that which in each is merely accidental and external.

From these points of view we may be permitted to give here a short sketch of the annexation of Britain.¹

I.—THE ANNEXATION.

IN none of the lands of modern civilisation which once lay under Roman dominion is it so hard, as in the case of England, to bring the picture of the land as it then was into focus with that which we now see before us. The East, and the Romance lands of Southern Europe bear the stamp of the ancient culture still so plainly impressed on the lines of the landscape, on buildings and works of art, on types of face and the customs of the inhabitants, that it needs no violent effort, and has, in fact, been a hundred times attempted by poets and painters, to conjure up again the spirit of antiquity there in its accustomed haunt. Even in our German Rhine lands (quite apart from places like Trier, which might just as well be in Italy or Southern France as in Germany), and here and there on the Northern slopes of the Alps, there still breathes an *aura* of the classics; and even the unpractised eye, when once the beholder's attention has been called to the subject, may trace in walls and towers, in the black-eyed race of men, in the two-wheeled carts, and the women's fashion of bearing burdens on their heads, the last remains of old Roman usages. But in the England of to-day, through the forest of masts which fill her harbours, beneath the canopy of smoke which overhangs her

¹Two years after the publication of the present paper, the author wrote an elaborate article on *The Roman Army in Britain*, which appeared in the Berlin Philological Journal *Hermes*, and also separately. Some details in the names and numbers of auxiliary troops, in consequence of further discoveries and researches, have to undergo some slight modifications.

factories, on her soft meadowy plains, beside her bushy hills, in her shadowy parks, amid the din of her cities, and the endless magnificence of her country mansions—to recognise *there* the Britannia of the Romans requires study, deep study, of books and archæological collections, and a certain habit of self-abstraction from the overmastering influences of the present, such as is given to few. No marvel, therefore, that in London, the great emporium of the world, the city of cosmopolitan interests, in whose “Travellers’ Club” the sum of the miles journeyed over by its members has now become past counting, the number is out of all proportion small, of those persons who have devoted the few days needful to explore some of the remains of Roman dominion in their own railway-intersected land. Not in London are such explorers to be found: one must visit the little country-towns, one must go to the modest homes of the country clergy in order to find the specialists in this branch of study—the men who have delighted to devote their lives to its advancement. The regular *literati*, the professors of the two great English Universities, of the Universities of London and of Scotland, trouble themselves not about these matters. No Newton or Bentley, no Porson or Dobree, has yet condescended to notice them. Since the time of the excellent *William Camden*, *Clarenceux King at Arms* under Queen Elizabeth, and compiler of the *Britannia*, the first great description of the country,* only one Englishman has set before himself the task of depicting Roman Britain on a large scale, and, with very limited means, in his homely way, approximately completed it. This was a man whose name you would in vain look for among the magnates of English literature and science; a contemporary of Bentley’s, but apparently never known to that scholar; and, to this day, even in England, scarcely mentioned out of those circles of local antiquaries to which I have just alluded, by whom, however, his book is justly held in high esteem, and bought at a high price. This man was named *John Horsley*, and in the 46 years of his life (1685–1731) he reached no higher rank than the modest position of Presbyterian minister at Morpeth, a little town of Northumberland, near the Scottish border. Even the satisfaction of seeing his folio volume, *Britannia Romana*, the result of so many years of labour, to the preparation of which he had sacrificed both health and substance, issue from the press was denied him. The book did not appear till shortly after his death, in the year 1732. Since his time the subject has been, it is true, often more or less thoroughly treated of in all sorts of great and small historical works, in essays, handbooks, and encyclopedias, published both in England and abroad. But not once has any considerable advance been made on Camden or Horsley, far less has any really exhaustive treatise yet appeared, assigning to the various authorities their due value, and discussing by their aid the various questions which present themselves for solution.

* This book first appeared in 1586, and was six times republished during the author’s lifetime. Often since republished and expanded, down to the present century, it has now swollen from a little (Latin) quarto into four (English) folios.

And yet Britain enjoys, beyond all the later acquired provinces of the empire, this enviable privilege, that we possess a continuous history of its conquest, and of the first 40 years of its administration, from the eloquent mouth of the greatest historian of the imperial age. *Tacitus*, the glory of the Trajanic era, in his first book of historic importance, in the panegyric on his father, Gnaeus Julius Agricola, published by him A.D. 98, related, as we all know, the history of the conquest of Britain in terms of pregnant brevity. His motive for doing so was the fact that for Agricola the hero of his book, was reserved the glory, if not of absolutely completing the conquest of the island during his seven years of command, at any rate of bringing it considerably nearer than any of his predecessors. The sketch deserves all the praise which has been given to it, yet we must admit that it deals largely in rhetorical generalities. Of ethnographic and geographic details, only that which is absolutely necessary is given, and this appears to be taken from the ordinary books of reference of the time. Names, dates, numbers, topographical details, are almost entirely wanting. The author wished, after the long and enforced silence of the hated reign of Domitian, to greet the new era inaugurated by Nero and Trajan, with a short and effective piece of high rhetorical perfection, not with a detailed historical treatise. Wisely limiting his subject, he contented himself with, as much as possible, concentrating all the interest in his hero. Yet, strange as it appears to us, he does not fail to put into the mouth of the Caledonian leader Galgacus, as well as into that of Agricola himself, short speeches after the pattern of Sallust. These speeches precede the only battle-piece in the book, that of the often looked for and never found Mons Graupius.

Doubtless when, in his later and more comprehensive historical works, he came, in the course of his narrative, to the coasts of Britain, he described them with much more fullness and accuracy. The portions preserved to us of his latest work, the *Annales* (from the death of Augustus to that of Nero), enable us—with regret over that which is lost—to realise this fact with reference to at least *one* important episode—the insurrection of the British Princess Boudicca* [Boadicea] against Suetonius Paulinus, the Legatus of Nero. Unfortunately, of the contemporary and yet more detailed work of Tacitus, which, in order of composition, preceded the *Annales*, the *Historiæ* (beginning with the elevation of Vespasian and ending with the death of Domitian), the greater part, as is well known, has perished. This part would just have given us the parallel representation of the deeds of Agricola in the larger frame-work of historical events, and in the more perfect style of the author's maturity as a historian.

The Greek *Dion* could still use this book for the section of his great Roman history in eighty books, written in the early decades of the third century, which related to this subject. In the remains of this work, and extracts from it, many a precious nugget of tradition is

* *Boudicca* is now recognised by all competent scholars as the authentic form of the name of this princess, being so spelt in Roman inscriptions.

still preserved. Beyond all this, however, the information given in the *Agricola*, the *Annales*, and the *Historiae* of Tacitus, rightly understood and combined with the information furnished by other authorities in Britain and the rest of the empire, and with the facts which can be learned from inscriptions and from architectural remains of the period still preserved on the spot, furnishes us with a clear picture of the ends pursued and the means used in the annexation of Britain, as well as of the most eminent men who took part therein.

The enterprise of conquering Britain came in the first rank of those bequeathed by Cæsar to his successor. Twice, in the fourth and fifth years of his eight years war of conquest in Gaul, after well weighing all the arguments for and against, had Cæsar made the attempt—it is true, with insufficient means of transport—to cross the Channel and to bring the “Island Celts” within the same circle of conquest in which their confederates on the continent were already enclosed. Both times, as every one knows, the undertaking failed utterly, from causes which are as clear as the day, and which need not here be discussed. In this way, quite apart from reasons of statesmanship, the military honour of the empire was compromised, and must sooner or later be cleared. The conquest of Britain, long looked upon as a necessary factor in the final pacification of the Gaulish and German territory, was after these events only a question of time and of the most favourable opportunity. Twice, in the years 34 and 27 B.C., had Augustus made all the preparations for a new expedition to Britain. He seems, however, at last, by his residence in Gaul in the year 8 B.C., to have convinced himself of the greatness and difficulty of the enterprise; and therefore to have given it up. In the record of his deeds he could only allege that two British princes had sought his protection, probably in consequence of domestic quarrels. We are expressly informed that diplomatic relations kept open the door of intervention for him and his successors. Tiberius himself, who otherwise, as is well known, practised the wisest moderation in external politics, looked upon the occupation of Britain, in the significant words of Tacitus, as an inevitable enterprise. He did not, however, proceed to its accomplishment. His successor, the frenzied Caius, commonly called Caligula, had enough of war in the brilliant *fiasco* of his expedition against Germany, which was probably meant to form the introduction to a British war. Thus it came to pass that the execution of the great and never wholly abandoned design was reserved for the weak-witted Claudius, the most insignificant of all the emperors of the Julian dynasty, the author of diffuse histories in Greek, the grammarian and rhetorician, the son of the valiant Drusus and of that pattern of female excellence among the Romans, Antonia;* for Claudius, who was so unlike his great brother, Germanicus Cæsar, that he passed with his contemporaries for half a Celt, because he chanced to be born in Lyons, and showed a marked predilection for his Celtic countrymen in Gaul and Spain. This stroke

* Possibly the far-famed Clytia, in the British Museum, is a likeness of this lady.

of destiny appeared so wonderful to Tacitus that he thought Fate had surely wished to give Vespasian, the future Emperor, an opportunity of exhibiting himself to the world, since he commanded one of the legions belonging to the expeditionary army, and subdued a part of the south of England, including the Isle of Wight. Assuredly we ought not to credit Claudius himself with the military dispositions for the campaign (which was, no doubt, preceded by diplomatic negotiations). Those dispositions were the work of the experienced officers with whom he surrounded himself when, in A.D. 43, he personally entered upon the expedition. Upon the Emperor's staff were placed a number of most distinguished young officers—Galba, the future Emperor; Plautius Silvanus, probably a nephew of the Emperor, whose splendid tomb at the foot of the heights of Tivoli is known to all travellers to Rome; and the two sons-in-law of the Emperor, Junius Silanus and Pompeius Magnus, the latter a descendant of the renowned Pompeius. The special leader of all these, however, was AULUS PLAUTIUS, an elderly relation of the Emperor, who had till then exercised the next great military command in geographical position, that of the two armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine. In that capacity he was the natural leader in a war which was now finally to realise the idea of Cæsar—not only to give to the Gaulish provinces the protection of armies on the Rhine frontier, but also to secure the undefended coasts of the North by the conquest of the island which commanded them.

Cæsar had undertaken the first expedition to Britain only with two legions, but the second with five. This appears to have given roughly the measure for the order of battle of the army of Claudius, which we are able to reconstruct with approximate accuracy, though we have no information about it in the *Agricola* of Tacitus. The nucleus of the troops was composed of four legions—

- II called Augusta.
- IX „ Hispana.
- XIV „ Gemina.
- XX „ Valeria Victrix.

Three of these were withdrawn from the German, one from the Pannonian army. Naturally in forming an army the nearest troops at hand were made use of. In addition to these there came (as recent discoveries enable us to assert with confidence) a detachment (*vexillatio*) of the VIIIth Legion (also called Augusta), quartered in Mainz. Perhaps this came as a kind of body-guard of the general. By the side of the army of citizens in the legions there always marched, since the re-organisation of the host by Cæsar and Augustus, a force of what were called *Auxilia* of about equal number; that is to say, that the legion—or, as we should call it, the division—had alongside of it, but not strictly forming part of it, certain divisions of horse and foot (*Alae* and *Cohortes*) which were in other respects precisely similar to the legion in arms and organisation, but were originally recruited from the non-citizens of the provinces. We cannot speak with the same definiteness of this portion of the army as of the legions, but yet, by the help of a particular kind of inscriptions which I shall speak of hereafter, we are

able, with approximate accuracy, to fix the number even of the *Auxilia*. The result of the somewhat elaborate investigation, with whose details I need not here trouble the reader, is to show that at least twenty-four *alae* of cavalry and near upon sixty cohorts of infantry belonged to the army of Claudius, drawn, without exception, from the nationalities of the north and west—from Thrace and Pannonia, the German lands, Gaul and Spain.

Now, if we reckon the four legions, inclusive of the mounted police (about 120 in number) which were attached to them, at a round number of 6,000 each—an estimate which, in such an expedition as this, for which the *full* complement would be raised, is probably too low rather than too high,—and if we reckon the *Vexillatio* of the 8th Legion at 1,000 men—a number which is recommended to us by the analogy of similar detachments,—this computation gives us for the army, a nucleus of 25,000 legionaries.

The sixty cohorts of *Auxilia* would average from 500 to 600 men; and we must not forget the possibility that at this time, as often at a later period, there might be cohorts of a double strength (“milliary cohorts”) from 1,000 to 1,200 men. The cavalry detachments were of the same strength; and among them, too, there were sometimes double *Alae*. We thus come to a strength of *Auxiliary Infantry* of 30,000 to 36,000 men—that is, about equivalent to the *Legionary Infantry*—and to a corps of *Auxiliary Cavalry* of 12,000 men. We thus get for the total—

Four Legions	...	...	...	...	24,000
Vexillation (from the 8th)	...	...	...	...	1,000
Auxilia	Cohortes	...	...	say	33,000
	Alae	...	...	...	12,000
					<hr/> 70,000 <hr/>

An army of, in round numbers, 70,000 men, with the train belonging to it, is a very considerable one for that time, which was an age of highly developed military skill, but of very inadequate enlistments. The high figure says much for the importance and difficulty which was attributed to the operation. It is, of course, understood that a powerful fleet of transport ships was attached to the army to transport it, even if only in successive detachments, across the channel. There seems to have been formed from the first a special division of the fleet, the “*Classis Britannica*,” which occupied a firm position in the southern harbours (as for instance at Lymne, in Kent), and remained till the end of the Roman dominion in Britain.

As to the point or points of disembarkation, the plan of occupation and its execution, information entirely fails us. Still, it is possible, by studying the conditions of the locality, and what we know from other sources of the Roman tactics, and by using a peculiar kind of monumental testimony, to make some conjectures on these points, which can hardly be very far removed from the truth. Caesar’s precise landing-place, after all the pains bestowed on the inquiry, and the

most ingenious combination of observations of storms, currents, and tides, cannot yet be accurately determined; but, undoubtedly, this expedition, like Cæsar's, availed itself of the prevailing wind in the Channel, the south-east, to cross at the narrowest point from one or more of the poor harbours of North France direct to the British coast. Where the first landing and encampment took place is a matter of indifference. Operations would certainly commence with the concentration of the assembled army on some point, as nearly as possible in the middle of that part of the south coast which was available for landing, as to the topography of which we have now, for a long time, been in possession of all the information that we could desire. The almost unapproachable cliffs of Cornwall and Devon naturally have not come into the consideration. It can hardly be a mere accident that precisely at such an almost central point of the south-east coast, at *Chichester*, the old capital of the tribe of the Regni (now one of those quiet and charming cathedral towns described by Dickens in his last novel¹), a temple was built to Neptune and Minerva, in honour of the Imperial family, by a native prince who had received from the Emperor Claudius the right of Roman citizenship and the title of *Legatus Augusti*, or, as we should say, a General *à la suite*. In the park of Goodwood, belonging to the Duke of Richmond, stands the memorial of this "King" Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, as he calls himself, a monument unnoticed by the thousands who flock yearly to "glorious Goodwood." Tacitus bears express testimony to the fact that Claudius handed over some tribes as a present to "King Cogidubnus," and that up to the time of Agricola he remained faithful to the Romans. We can have little doubt, therefore, that this was one of the first points at which the army of occupation, supported by the arts of diplomacy, gained a footing.

The state of civilisation then existing in the south of the island must not be rated too low. It was at least equal to that of the most advanced Gaulish tribes at the time of Cæsar, and superior to that of the Germans at the same epoch. In the interval between Cæsar and Claudius numerous coins of the Belgian standard had been struck by native princes, the name of the hero of romance, Cunobellinus or Cymbeline, appearing among them. There were also individual towns possessing what might relatively be termed wealth. One condition of civilisation certainly was wanting in this, as in every barbarian land—a condition of the most important kind for the onward march of an army of at least 60,000 men (I deduct 10,000 for the detachments required to guard the landing place and the stations of the fleet), and that condition was—*roads*. The chief of the engineers in the Roman army—their *præfectus fabrum*—a man whose name has not reached us, but, certainly, one of the highest rank in his profession, and a man of great acquirements in military science, no doubt then wove the first threads of that net-work of roads which afterwards gradually overspread the island in all directions. In this we see how

¹ *The Mystery of Edwin Drood.*

safe may be the inherited routine of an age, not in itself fruitful in great thoughts, from the fact that in such work the Romans used not to take one needless step. This fact enables us, by means of the system of roads which we find afterwards existing, and by means of the strong *castra stativa* which, at any rate, the legions then possessed, to recognise the cause of the slow but sure occupation of Britain. North-west from Chichester, and further inland, lies the city of Winchester, afterwards so renowned in the story of Saxon conquest and in church history, then known as Venta, the chief town of the mightiest of the tribes of South Britain, the Belgae, doubtless an early and vigorous off-shoot of the Continental tribe bearing that name. Here a little altar was found (now in the British Museum) erected by an "orderly" (as we should call him) of the Prefect of the Province, to the Italian, German, Gallic, and British "Matres." Of the men of these four countries the main body of the army was composed. Here, with a high degree of probability, we may fix the first seat of military, and, therefore, doubtless, also of civil supreme government. The place is, as always, chosen on a system. Just in the middle, between the two deeply penetrating estuaries of Thames and Severn, it was in direct and, no doubt, carefully guarded communication with the magnificent harbour of Southampton (the ancient Clausentum), which is itself so incomparably defended by the Isle of Wight, lying in front of it. From this point followed the further impulse eastwards and westwards, always along that chain of roads which we can trace with sufficient clearness by the Itineraries, and by their numerous remains; and, which, under various names, still remained, throughout the middle ages, the main arteries of internal communication.

The old biographers of Vespasian stated that he who, as has been already stated, was commander of one of the legions of Claudius in Britain, fought thirty battles, overcame two brave nations, and took more than twenty places belonging to them, and finally subdued the Isle of Wight, and that this was done partly under the nominally supreme command of the Emperor himself, partly under that of Aulus Plautius. The possession of the Isle of Wight was certainly one of the first objects of the occupation. I conjecture that its conquest was made as early as the first year, under the command of the Imperial staff head quarters. In that case, Vespasian will have accomplished his other exploits in the following years under Plautius.

The most northerly point which was attained on the *east* side of the island, in these early years of the occupation, seems to have been Camulodunum, the royal castle of Cunobellinus, named after the British god of war, Camulus. It was probably conquered in the year 43. It is certain that already in the lifetime of Claudius a temple was erected to him there, probably conjointly with the goddesses Roma and Venus or Victoria, for this was the well-known designation of the Roman Venus as ancestress of the Æneadæ and the Julian house. This was the central point for the provincial worship of the Emperors, which was immediately introduced; just as the altar of Augustus in the city of the Ubii, Cologne, was for the Germans;

that of Claudius, near Lyons, at the confluence of the Rhone and Saones, for the Gauls; the temple of Augustus, at Tarragona, for Spain. Camulodunum was then called in official style, Colonia Victrix. In the oyster-renowned Colchester, which is built on its site, there is now no trace of the splendour of its barbaric era, except the lofty position of the old castle, with its wide outlook over coast and marsh-land, some remains of walls, and the usual witnesses of a Roman settlement—bronzes, gravestones, and fragments of pottery, which are preserved in the public and private museums of the town. A fine gravestone of a centurion of the XXth Legion, with a full length figure of the deceased in relief, an attractive work of art, probably of the time of Nero, is almost the only thing which can conjure up a remembrance of the past.

We have no direct evidence how far *westwards* into the country the impulse of the army in the years of the first governorship may have penetrated. However, in another way, we can obtain some information on this point. Since the days of Pytheas of Marseilles, the first Greek who gloried in having reached the uttermost Thule (meaning thereby the Orkney Islands), the wealth of the mountains of Britain in the nobler and baser metals, and the treasures of pearls in its seas, had been celebrated with fabulous exaggeration, both by prose writers and poets. Caesar, too, when he undertook the British expedition, at least admitted it as an element in his calculations that he might possibly thereby be adding to the Roman dominions a second Spain, a new and inexhaustible source of mineral wealth. And so much is certain, that the tin and lead which were obtained from the mines of Devon, Cornwall, and the Scilly Islands, first probably eagerly worked and jealously guarded by the Phœnicians, after them by the native population, had from time immemorial held a foremost place among the articles of export from the island. On the eastern shore of the Severn estuary, and south of the Avon, in the northern part of what is now the county of Somerset, lies the still worked mining district of the Mendip Hills. These were the first British mines occupied by the Romans. The mountainous regions of Devon and Cornwall were still, as at their first landing, left unattacked by them. The only Roman places in those regions, Durnovaria (the modern Dorchester), the capital of the Durotrigæ, from whom the country of Dorset takes its name, and Isca (Exeter) the chief town of the Dumnonii, do not appear to have become of importance till a much later period. But in the Mendip Hills there have been discovered at various times since the XVIth century, about 40 pigs of lead bearing Latin inscriptions stamped on them. These inscriptions contain, in far the greatest number of cases, the name of the reigning Emperor, as being the rightful owner of the mine, and of the mine itself; sometimes, however, we meet with the name of a private individual. In some cases the information is added that the metal has been obtained from an ore of silver. The pigs vary in weight from 50 to 225 lbs., avoirdupois. The latest Imperial names that have hitherto been found upon them are those of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

But the earliest of them all, now in the British Museum, weighing 163 lbs., bears the name of Britannicus and the year 49. Thus, only six years after the invasion, we meet with the name of the heir-apparent, who was then only seven years old, and who died in his fourteenth year. It was assuredly with the consent of the Emperor, whose own name, by some accident, has not been met with on any of the pigs, that the name of his son was stamped on this product of the new province; and so far at least the Roman occupation must have proceeded in its earliest years. We may, with some probability, indicate the line—

Bath	...	Silchester	...	London
(Aquae Sulis)	...	(Calleva)	...	(Londinium)

with the advanced post of Colchester (Camulodunum) as the first northern boundary of the new province.

In the year 44, one year after the landing, the Emperor was already back in Rome, celebrating his Britannic triumph. Six years later, in memory of this triumph, the splendid arch was erected in the Campus Martius, the remains of which, in the 16th century, still spanned the Corso, near the Sciarra Palace. Its large reliefs, representing the march of the army past the Emperor and his generals, are still partially preserved, and are visible in the open entrance hall of the Villa Borghese. Of the inscription on the arch, a huge marble tablet with great inlaid letters of brass, only one-half is still preserved; it is built up in the wall of a terrace near the Barberini Palace. Therein the Emperor boasts of having, without loss of his own soldiers, vanquished and subdued eleven British kings, and been the first to incorporate with the empire, the barbarians on the other side of the ocean. A second arch, erected in honour of the Emperor at the point of the Gaulish coast from which the expedition set forth, has vanished, leaving no trace. The epithet of Britannicus was refused for himself by Claudius who thus followed the example of his step-grandfather, Augustus, but it was borne thenceforward by his son, the before-mentioned son of Messalina (previously called Germanicus), whose melancholy fate has been rendered famous by the poetry of Corneille.

For a space of three years longer (44-47) did Aulus Plautius, the first Governor of Britain, prolong his administration of the newly won province, that is to say, the southern portion of the island. On his return he received the honour of an ovation, the lesser triumph. This result tells a plainer tale than bulletins of battle; the expedition must have been so well prepared beforehand, and conducted with such good fortune, as to be completely successful.

Claudius, the squinting stammerer with water on the brain, the butt of his contemporaries, the man who had proved the truth of the proverb that one must be born a king or an idiot,—Claudius had, as if in joke, obtained the prize of which Cæsar's good fortune and Augustus's foresight had been baulked. He could truly boast, in the oration which is still preserved to us on the great tablet of brass in the museum of his native city, Lyons, that he had extended the empire across Oceanus. In the Roman Anthology are to be found no fewer

than eight epigrams by the poets of the court, good, bad, and indifferent, celebrating the great event. In one of the cleverest but most malicious satires that have come down to us from antiquity, the younger Seneca's Apotheosis (or rather Apocolocyntosis, that is, not deification but pumpkinification) of Claudius, the author makes the unhappy Emperor—who, upon his consecration, has tried to enter Olympus, and on the motion of Augustus, unanimously approved by the gods, has been kicked out of the realms above and sent down to Orcus—sing a dirge of lamentation, in which among other things occurs this passage, with an evident allusion to the vain-glorious inscription in the Arch of Triumph, "I compelled the Britons on the further shore of the yet known sea, and the Brigantes with their blue shields, to load their necks with the heavy Roman chains, and I made Ocean himself tremble before the new sway of the axes of Rome."

II.—THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN FROM NERO TO HADRIAN.

It is not my intention to trouble the reader with a historico-antiquarian commentary on the *Agricola* of Tacitus. True, there is none at present which one could recommend to persons desirous of a scientific treatment of the subject, and, apart from the charm of novelty which would attach to much that might be here brought forward, even what is already known is by no means devoid of general interest. In short sketches, the unrivalled master has in his historical style, in which poetry is blended with rhetoric, given a sharply outlined sketch of each of the predecessors of Agricola and his plan of action, of the successive steps of the occupation and Romanisation of the country. And the contour lines, again, of these sketches gain life and colour through the universal analogy of that which has been elsewhere recorded of a similar character, and through the details supplied by monuments and inscriptions. Only the execution of this task would require wider space and a more prolix style of narration than we can here indulge in. It must suffice here to give simply the skeleton of events, and the leading principles of the progressive annexation of Britain, without those details which are reserved for history proper, without a thorough description of the persons engaged, and without tracing the varying fortunes of the struggle as it was waged under different Emperors.

About ten years after the commencement of the occupation, a considerable number of legionaries had finished their term of service, and it became necessary to provide for the settlement of these veterans in the new province, in order thus to prepare, according to the well-known principles of Roman administration, a settled nucleus of inhabitants, from whose close and constant intercourse with the fortified encampments of the troops, urban life, trade, manufactures, art, and education might regularly develop themselves. Thus did the Roman camp-towns everywhere arise, whose rectangular formation is

yet capable of recognition, at least in the streets and gateways, in the walls and towers of so many modern towns. More plainly still in those places where the sand of the desert alone covers them, and has kept them to our own day in almost untouched completeness, as with the French penal colony, Lambessa (formerly Lambæsis) in Algiers.

The first colony of veterans in Britain, founded in Nero's time, under the immediate successor of Aulus Plautius was that of Camulodunum. On account of the provincial worship which, as we have seen, was centralised there, it became the chief capital of the new province, and lost, little by little, its character as the fortified station of the XIVth Legion, the Tamers of Britain, as they were called in the army. London, which was assuredly already the most important trading place in the country, was probably, at the same time, the seat of a Roman custom-house for goods imported by Gaulish and German merchants, and maintained a station for the fleet. The other old fortresses of the native princes, such as Durovernum, the castle of the Cantii (Canterbury), Calleva (Silchester), Verulamium (Verulam near St. Albans), Durocornovium (Cirencester), and others, never became important Roman towns. We can see where the old earthworks fortifying the camp were in some degree built up and retained in good preservation by the consistent and easily understood usage of the Saxon conquerors, who called all such places expressly, *castrum* (*ceaster*) or camp. On the other hand, the older forts, built in places of great natural strength generally on high ground and without Roman fortifications were known by them as *burgs* (Canterbury, Shrewsbury, Peterborough), or, at any rate, by their old names without the addition of *ceaster*. It must not be supposed, from the extreme frequency of the termination *chester*, or its equivalents, in English names of places, that there were in the province an equal number of Roman fortresses in the proper sense of the word—fortified encampments with permanent garrisons. In this stricter sense we can, in the southern portion of the island, point to but *one* Roman fortress besides Colchester. This is Glevnm, an old settlement of the tribe of the Dobuni, called by the Saxons, Gleavanceaster, the modern Gloucester, a name whose mere sound, thanks to the mighty spell thrown upon us by Shakespeare, fills us with a sort of tragic awe. We now know, but the complete evidence has only just been collected by a modest local antiquary (Mr. John Bellows), that in this place another of the British legions, the Second, surnamed Augusta, erected its first *castra stativa*, round which also there soon grew up a colony of veterans. Strangely enough, Gloucester lies, as a glance at the map will show, in almost precisely the same parallel of latitude as Colchester; and both are almost exactly equidistant from Calleva (Silchester), the first point of intersection of the two great high roads which lead northward to the east and west of the island. It is possible, therefore, that the line—Gloucester, Silchester, Colchester—formed the second northern frontier of the enlarged province which was meanwhile secured by an extended system of roads and by new stations for the fleet on both coasts.

These fixed camps of the legions were the natural bases of the further operations. The remaining legions and the collected *Auxilia* of cavalry and infantry were distributed in provisional camps and garrison towns. At each march onwards into hostile territory the General naturally sought at once to win fresh and secure bases of operation, on a small scale for each district, as well as on a large scale for the whole country. From Gloucester the onward impulse proceeded in the direction of Wales, the scarce-accessible land of the Silures and Ordovices. Venta and Isca, both situated in Wales, indicate pretty well the first line of march. The first, a town of the Silures, now called Caerwent, must not be confounded with the Belgian Venta (Winchester). The second was, in the 3rd century, the head-quarters of the IInd Legion, and thence obtained the name of *Castra Legionis*, or Caerleon, *Caer* being the Welsh representative of *Castra*.

The campaign of PUBLIUS OSTORIUS SCAPULA, the successor of Plantius (47-53), and also a distinguished officer, ends, it is true, with the rout of the Britons, so graphically described in the *Annales* of Tacitus, and with the captivity of their prince, Caratacus, the Caradoc of romance. It, however, by no means brought about the effectual occupation of the country (Wales), which was not accomplished till twenty years later.

In the next six years (53-59) the frontiers of the province were not extended. Then SUTONIUS PAULINUS, a brave and ambitious but not sufficiently cautious General, the rival of Corbulo, won, considerably further to the north, on the estuary of the Deva, a new station for the third of the legions in Britain (the 20th, Valeria Victrix). This station then bore the same name as the river, but was afterwards called *The Camp* simply, (*Castra* = Chester). Paulinus then sought (61) to cross over the straits of Bangor, now spanned by the far-famed railway bridge, and to conquer the island of Anglesey, the ancient Mona. He may have imagined that desert plateau of rock to be larger and more important than it really is. Segontium (Caer Seiont) was probably then built by him in order to protect the crossing.*

Meanwhile, however, the first and terribly dangerous rebellion of the subject princes and peoples against the Roman yoke broke out in the east of the island, and even, after careful pre-arrangement on the part of the insurgents, in Camulodunum itself, whose camp was then occupied only by a weak garrison. The military levy and the taxation, both often enforced with violence and injustice, made the common people, otherwise generally disposed for quiet, willing to co-operate in the high-flying schemes of Boudicca, Queen of the Iceni. They had fallen, as they often said to one another, "out of the frying-pan into the fire."† Instead of one prince they had now two, the

* *Aquæ Sulis* (Bath) and *Viroconium* (Wroxeter), British towns, which never have been Roman *castra*, possessed in this time already a Roman population, as the tombstones of soldiers and veterans found there show.

† Lit., "had come from the rain into the gutter." (*Sie seien von Regen in die Traufe gekommen.*)

Legatus and Procurator of the Emperor. The first took their sons from the plough; the second their gold out of the chest and their corn out of the barn. The shameless injustice of the officials of the Empire towards the princely house, and the intolerable insolence of the veterans towards the common people, brought their own reward. Signs and wonders lent their aid to rouse the people to fanaticism. It was said that the statue of the Goddess of Victory in the temple of Claudius had either fallen from its place or else turned round on its pedestal as if it were ready to depart. The garrison and the veterans were alike massacred. Petillius Cerealis, the legatus of the nearest legion, (the IXth), who first marched against the insurgents, was beaten by them, and only just succeeded in holding his entrenchments with the scanty remainder of his forces, till at last Suetonius Paulinus, with a part of the army, appeared for his succour. This General was obliged to abandon flourishing cities like Londinium and Verulamium to the flames, and their Roman population to the Barbarians' revenge and thirst for plunder, in order not to squander his strength. However, the superior tactics of the Roman army sufficed to nip the insurrection in the bud, and by one victorious engagement to preserve the whole province for the Empire. All this is told by Tacitus in the *Annales* with far more detail and keener insight than in the *Agricola*. The recital of this and similar events in the age of Nero serves to bring out the political decay of the monarchy along with the strange moral degradation of its highest classes. But even though the star of the Julian dynasty was about to set, these events prove, on the other hand, that not yet was the Empire in any degree tottering in its true strongholds—the army and the provincial administration. However dangerous this episode may have been, it gave no abiding check to the progress of the occupation of Britain: Chester does not appear to have been for a moment abandoned.

The first Legatus of Vespasian, PETILLIUS CEREALIS (71–75), the same whom we have already seen in command of the IXth Legion, pressed forward through the east of the island, from Camulodunum, against the most powerful and most warlike of British tribes, the Brigantes. Their name, even in dealing with the events of an earlier time, was used by Seneca and Tacitus as almost equivalent to that of Britons, so great was the impression which it had made in Rome. It is only an accidental coincidence that it so nearly corresponds in sound with the word which we derive from modern Italian, *brigands* (in Italian *brigante*). Vespasian, who knew from his own experience the difficulties of the task, at once sent to England, from Pannonia, the 2nd supplemental legion (Secunda Adjutrix), which he had recently raised from the crews of the fleet. This was by way of relief for the 14th, which had in the meantime been ordered back to Germany, for the war against the Batavian Cerealis, and never returned. The 2nd received from Cerealis permanent head-quarters in the colony of Lindum, which thence received its modern name of Lincoln (Lindum Colonia). Lindum and Deva lie again, like Camulodunum and Glevum, in almost the same parallel of latitude. The former is between that great inden-

tation of the flat eastern coast, called "The Wash," and the harbour-like estuary of the Humber; the second between the mouths of the Dee and the Mersey, near the modern harbour of Liverpool, and thus both are in the most favourable points possible for intercourse by sea.

Meanwhile, SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS (75-78), the successor of Cerealis in the command, one of the most eminent of Vespasian's officers, the learned author of books on strategy and engineering which are still preserved to us, had finally subdued the mountainous country of Wales, so that the larger southern half of the country was now Roman. The Chester-Lincoln line clearly indicates the third northern frontier of the province, at a relatively narrow portion of the island.

The successor of Frontinus in the command was GNAEUS JULIUS AGRICOLA. The fact that this general, appointed by Vespasian, was continued in the command by that Emperor's sons and successors, Titus and Domitian, making his total tenure of the office more than seven full years (78-85), or more than twice the usual time, testifies to the high degree of confidence which he had learned how to inspire and to maintain. The masterly sketch of his government of the province and his warlike deeds, which we owe to the piety of his son-in-law, does, in its natural and pardonable zeal, slightly exaggerate the importance of the achievements, though certainly not the nobleness of the man. Two sorts of enterprise might, according to his view of the nature of the situation, have been proposed to himself by an ambitious officer, experienced in war and of untiring energy—and such was the character of Agricola—either to crown the labour of his predecessors, by completely and definitively pacifying all the territory within the limits already reached (and this had certainly, as yet, by no means been accomplished), or to surpass his predecessors by winning for the Empire the widest possible space of still unconquered territory—if possible, the whole island. Agricola seems, in fact, to have attempted both enterprises in succession, and not entirely succeeded in either.

In the first year of his command (78) he succeeded in quelling an attempt at insurrection by the Ordovices, who had almost entirely cut to pieces the *Ala* of cavalry stationed as a guard upon them, in a camp with whose name we are not acquainted. He also, by the help of the Batavian cohorts, who were excellent swimmers, succeeded in definitively conquering Anglesey, an undertaking which Suetonius Paulinus had been compelled to relinquish.

In the second year (79) the work of pacification within the existing borders made some progress, in what direction we cannot say, as no names of peoples or places have been preserved to us.

In the third summer (80) (the winter, according to the old custom, was always passed in quarters) he pressed on towards the north, and occupied a new portion of territory, probably on the eastern coast; but the bay of the sea up to which he pushed his garrisons, the estuary of Tanaum (so named in the manuscripts of the *Agricola*) is otherwise entirely unknown, and cannot be geographically fixed with certainty.*

* It cannot possibly have been the Firth of Tay. One feels inclined to suggest the estuary of the Tees.

In the fourth year (81) begins the great expedition with the whole moveable army, which we must look upon as the cause of Agricola's prolonged command. The narrative of Tacitus (perhaps intentionally) does not give especial prominence to this obscure section of the history. Only this is clear, that a special expeditionary corps must have been formed for the purpose out of all the available troops; but its composition and strength we can only conjecture approximately from the details as to the last battle which Agricola fought with its aid. It must, with legions, cavalry, and auxiliary cohorts, have amounted in all to close upon 30,000 men, or more than half of the then army of Britain. A naval squadron accompanied the expedition, probably along the east coast. We must here observe that although Vespasian had again brought up the number of the legions to its original figure—four, the legion which he sent over (*Secunda Adjutrix*) had since returned to Pannonia in consequence of Domitian's German campaign, and thereby Lincoln lost its garrison. Agricola, so we are told with terse brevity, marched northwards to the estuaries Clota and Bodotria, and occupied this line with forts. These are, as can be abundantly proved from other sources, the Firth of Clyde and Firth of Forth, in Scotland. It is the Glasgow-Edinburgh line which is here presented to us, the most northerly which was ever reached by the Roman occupation, and that not till nearly a century later. For it was on this line, as will hereafter appear, that the Emperor Antoninus Pius placed the northernmost boundary-wall of the empire. Here, in the representation of the deeds of Agricola, there is an obvious chasm which probably the later explanation in the last portion of the *Histories* would have supplied. It is inconceivable that an advance so far northwards into the enemy's country, and even across this line, would have been undertaken even by the boldest of generals, until the vast area between the Chester-Lincoln line in the south and the Glasgow-Edinburgh line in the north had been, in the approved fashion, occupied with at least *one* strong garrison, and thus, the communications by land and sea being secured, the necessary line of retreat, and the possibility of forwarding supplies and reinforcements, had been guaranteed. The territory of the Brigantes, which occupies just that middle portion of the island, must necessarily, like all the earlier occupied territories, have been first subdued before an onward march so far beyond it could rationally have been thought of. Now, both by the evidence of historians and by that of inscriptions, it is established beyond doubt that, at latest under the rule of Trajan, *Eboracum*, the modern York, the old chief place of the Brigantes, became the head-quarters of the last of the three (now only three) British legions, namely the IXth (*Hispana*), and at the same time, the military centre of the country. [I say at latest under Trajan, but I hold that this change was made earlier, in the reign of Domitian, and by Agricola.] It is easily understood that, after the centre of gravity of the military operations had been transferred into the middle and northern half of the island, while the whole of the south, under the influences of an abiding peace, was becoming more and more thoroughly Romanised, the distant Colchester would no

longer seem a suitable place for the lodging of the Legatus and his staff; while, at the same time, the camp of the XIVth Legion, once pitched there, had, as above stated, gradually disappeared. At Chester, and yet more at York, large buildings, from the end of the first century, were, for the first time, erected for military purposes, in their native fashion, by the British legions (the XXth and IXth respectively); and for this purpose they used the necessary tiles. In the southern fortresses they were contented with the rubble which they found already in use, and with timber. In the beautiful museum at York, which has been formed in the still remaining chambers and in the gardens of the old Abbey of St. Mary's, outside the city wall, entire graves of the legionaries are to be found, made of the great stamped tiles of the IXth Legion. At York was situated the Prætorium of the governor, as we are expressly informed by a Greek inscription. Here, too, though to a small extent in comparison with other provinces, a municipal life was developed side by side with the military. Here the soldiers, coming as they did from all parts of the world, introduced foreign worships of all kinds. Here died the Emperors Septimius Severus and Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine. York, thenceforward, was indisputably the capital of the province. The inference that Agricola is to be considered as its special founder can hardly be refuted, even though there is no mention of the fact in the writings of Tacitus. A fortress—more or less—erected by him at a time when no one could foresee the future importance of *this* fortress, might easily seem immaterial and not worth mentioning in the estimate of his deeds. York lies at a middle point between the two seas, and is nearly equidistant from Lincoln and Chester. The strategic system of occupation seems here to have concentrated all its forces in one powerful centre, which made the necessary basis for a forward march northwards. We are expressly informed by Tacitus that in the opinion of experts, Agricola was considered exceptionally skilled in the choice of strategical positions, and that no stronghold which he had fortified ever succumbed to a hostile attack, or was abandoned by capitulation or flight. As he certainly did not find the station of Eburacum in existence before him he must surely have founded it himself. Nor can this be the only one that he called into being, since Cumberland, Northumberland, and the whole south of Scotland must have been at least in some degree occupied before he attained to the Glasgow-Edinburgh line.

In the fifth year of the war (82) he crossed by sea, apparently over the Firth of Clyde, to West Scotland—Argyleshire and Arran; for it was here that the thought occurred to him how easy it would be to occupy Ireland, whose shore he saw confronting him. According to the long established rule of Roman policy, "*Divide et impera*," he established diplomatic relations with a party of native princes. At a later period he frequently remarked to his son-in-law that Ireland could be subdued and kept down with one single legion and moderate *Auxilia*; and that this achievement would also facilitate the pacification of Britain, since then, instead of looking across the seas into a free

country, she would see herself everywhere encompassed by the garrisons of Rome. Misled by inaccurate maps, people supposed that Ireland lay about half-way between Britain and Spain; the resemblance of the name Hibernia to *Hiberus* (as the Romans pronounced the name of the Ebro), and the Iberian land, seems to have contributed to this result. This being so, Ireland seemed the natural connecting link between the three western provinces—Spain, Gaul, and Britain. If, notwithstanding this suggestion, Domitian, or his military advisers, refused the IVth Legion (which was required for the purpose, since none of the three then garrisoning Britain could be spared from that work), and the corresponding number of *Auxilia* which were included in Agricola's demand (and this refusal is what we read between the lines of Tacitus), we must allow that their refusal was, on the face of it, a wise one.

The expedition to Ireland was given up: that island was never occupied by the Romans. In the sixth year of the war (83) Agricola marched into Eastern Scotland, in spite of the well-founded warnings of some of his officers (the army, on the other hand, apparently burned with desire now at length to reach the utmost bound of the island), and in spite of the fact that the army being divided into three for the forward march, the weak IXth Legion was again defeated and almost exterminated in a night skirmish. With the help of his fleet he occupied the further side of the Firth of Forth. In the part of Tacitus's narrative which narrates these transactions, oratorical and unusually copious as it is, the story unfortunately loses all further geographical details. The few names of places which have, after all, reached us—the Mount Graupius, the tribe of the Borestae, and the Trucculensian harbour—unfortunately cannot be geographically identified with even approximate precision. The fact is that the manuscripts of Agricola read the name Graupius; in the seventeenth century some *literati*, following the then prevalent reading of Tacitus, Grampius, gave the name Grampian to the whole chain of mountains which, passing to the north of Blair Athol, travels crosswise through Scotland from south-west to north-east. This misspelling and misappropriation of the name has misled even the latest editors of the *Agricola*.

So much, however, is clear. The victory over Galgacus and his Caledonians in the next summer, the seventh year of the war (84), on Mount Graupius, notwithstanding Agricola's fine harangue to his troops, was bought only by heavy losses, and its strategic value was, in fact, *nil*. One of the German cohorts of the long-renowned tribe of the Usipii, which was stationed at one of the Roman camps on the coast, perhaps at Uxellodunum (Maryport, in Cumberland), slew their few Roman officers and endeavoured, with three transport ships, to reach their home. This mutiny, in spite of the tragic end of the audacious Viking voyage, was not unknown to the enemy, and set an extremely dangerous example. A retreat had to be ordered, and that without delay, however the necessary delay in the construction of winter quarters might preserve the appearance of unbroken courage. In fact the army receded upon the line of York, which was perhaps

now first selected before all similar settlements on account of its central position, and erected into a fortress of the first rank. Northwards of York no monument has been found which reaches into the pre-Trajanic era. The fleet, however, following the example of Pytheas, circumnavigated the whole island, and accomplished the feat—geographically interesting, but of no political importance—of gazing upon the end of the world: the “Ultima Thule.”

After this hard lesson no Roman army again penetrated so far north. In the following year (85) Agricola was recalled, and was coldly received by the Emperor, although he received the highest military distinction—the honour of a Triumph. Both this fact and the further rebuffs which he experienced during the eight years which intervened before his death are to be attributed, no doubt, to the jealous hatred of Domitian. This characteristic quality of the Emperor, insisted upon by Tacitus on every occasion, is no doubt in the main accurately portrayed. Still, it must be confessed that the two great tasks which were set before Agricola he had not accomplished. He had won no new northern boundary for the province, and by his Scotch expedition he had rather promoted than checked the rebellion which was everywhere threatening to break out among the Brigantes.

With the close of Tacitus's biography ends all our continuous information as to the history of the British province. There may have been some good reason for the fact that Trajan, who was, all things considered, the greatest of Roman Emperors, does not appear to have interposed his strong right hand in the destinies of Britain as of almost all the other provinces of the empire. Unfortunately we have received from antiquity not one single connected account of his reign, and our traditions about him are too scanty and too full of gaps to permit us to indulge in more than conjectures as to the cause of this abstention. Some of his Legati in Britain, like SALVIUS LIBERALIS, who was a not inconsiderable orator, and NERATIUS MARCELLUS, well known as a learned jurist, evidently took permanent possession of a moderate extent of territory northwards from York, occupying it in the old-fashioned way by means of camps and roads. Unfortunately for us, none of them had a Tacitus for his son-in-law. *One* fact, however, tells its own history. The IXth Legion, towards the end of the reign of Trajan (to which time its latest monuments, preserved in York, have to be referred), vanishes clean out of the list of the Roman army, and is replaced under Hadrian by the VIth, surnamed *Victrix*, which, after Augustus, had had its headquarters in Spain, more recently in Xanten, on the Lower Rhine. From this time onwards it acted as garrison at York. The IXth, which had been already twice almost annihilated, first under Petillius Cerealis in fight against Boudicca, and secondly under Agricola before the battle of Mount Graupius, and probably since the latter event had never regained its full strength, must have found its end in the battles against the Brigantes.

So ends the second section of the history of the annexation of Britain.

III.—HADRIAN'S WALL.

JUST as, to the astonishment of contemporaries, it had fallen to the lot of the insignificant Claudius to carry through in Britain the plans of his great predecessors, Julius and Augustus, even so was it reserved, not for Trajan, but for his far less warlike successor Hadrian, to make an essential change in the system of occupation which had hitherto prevailed. The still unbroken resistance of the Brigantes (commemorated by the poets of the day, one of whom, Juvenal, had been himself an officer in Britain), and the annihilation of the IXth Legion, compelled him to take certain strategic measures, from which we date a new epoch in the government of the province.

Hadrian is the creator of that astonishing monument of Roman dominion in Britain, the name of which, but by no means its full significance, is known, in the widest circles—the Picts' Wall, as it used to be called, or the Roman Wall as we now call it—concerning which every English boy, and many a German, learns at school, to forget all about it afterwards. I will endeavour to give a short sketch of this work, founded on personal observations, and on a thorough study of all the important treatises relating to it.

From the mouth of the Tyne, east of Newcastle, to the Solway Firth, an arm of the sea west of Carlisle, there stretched right across the island a vast continuous system of walls and towers, of earthworks and fosses, of great and little *castella*, which were linked together by a Roman road, of which the easily recognisable remains still survive. Notwithstanding the long-continued wars with the northern barbarians, from the sixth century onwards, and the destructive influence which they must necessarily have exerted, great pieces of this work were still so well preserved all through the middle ages, that they were continuously used for purposes of defence, as contemporary chronicles show, in the feuds of the English and Scottish borderers, or of individual earls and barons with one another. It was the union of the two kingdoms, and the increasing prosperity of the country owing to the peace, which first commenced the gradual decay of this edifice. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the border between England and Scotland was so unsafe, by reason of thieves and mosstroopers who found snug harbourage in the decaying works of the Wall, that the learned Sir Robert Cotton, and his companion from the Herald's Office, William Camden, author of the *Britannia*, who wished to visit the Wall in the year 1599, were obliged with great regret to abandon their project. The following century, the 17th, the great crisis of the political revolutions, and, at the same time, of the development of the material prosperity of England, was, for these very reasons, not generally favourable to antiquarian research. At length, in the third decade of the 18th century, the wall was visited by Antiquaries—namely, by the very imaginative William Stukeley, of London, in the year 1734; by the modest Scottish music-master, Alexander Gordon, in 1727; and, at length, by the excellent John Horsley, whom I have already mentioned, and, by these men it was, however, im-

perfectly described. By that time much had already disappeared which was still visible in the 16th century; more, however, was silently removed by the great impulse since given to the cultivation of the country, by improved agriculture, and the formation of roads. All this went to the heart of the local antiquary, who had to look on and see the swampy trenches of the Wall year by year growing drier and coming under the plough; the unprofitable stone heaps of walls and castles broken up and sold, their materials used for farm-houses and cow-byres, the once stony land turned into a fruitful field. Yes, all this was pain and grief to the antiquary; but it was joy and profit to the owner and occupier, who prized the seats of an earlier culture all round the Roman settlements as especially fertile, and who saw the produce of the soil in these regions gradually multiplied till it was tenfold what it had once been. The highway from Newcastle to Carlisle, which, till about 50 years ago, when the railway was made, was the main artery of communication between the two seas, runs for considerable portions of its course on the broad back of the Roman Wall, which the engineers simply appropriated as their foundation, thereby considerably reducing the cost of construction. It is true that on the same occasion, and yet more at a later period, when the railway was formed, accidental "finds" of all sorts of antiquities stimulated the zeal of collectors and repairers, and led afterwards to systematic excavations. Thus the omissions and the neglect of previous centuries have now been, in some measure, made good by redoubled vigilance in observing, collecting, and publishing.

After Horsley, John Hodgson, the painstaking historian of his native county Northumberland (after 1820), and pre-eminently for the last 30 years, J. Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle, have done the greatest service in clearing up the history and describing the manner of building and the antiquities of the Wall. Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, caused to be executed at his own cost [by Henry McLauchlan] a careful topographic survey of the whole Wall, and the Roman roads and castles which were connected with it, making, at the same time, excavations at various points. Roman antiquities of every kind from the whole North of England are preserved in the public collections of Durham, Newcastle, and Carlisle; in the private museums of the Duke of Northumberland, at his splendid castle of Alnwick; and in the not less interesting collection of Mr. John Clayton, at Chesters, on the Wall. The copiously illustrated works of Dr. Bruce, the *Description of the Wall* (1867), and the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, a collection of the stone monuments of the entire North, published in 1875 by the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, to a certain extent make up to a distant student the lack of personal inspection.

For the scientific reconstruction of the Wall and its camps, two kinds of documents are now at our disposal:—

I.—When it became necessary to provide the camps on the line of the Wall with permanent garrisons, the British legions, reduced to three in number, as I have said, were already assigned to their

respective quarters (at Glevum, Deva, and Eburacum); moreover, none of the camps were constructed on so large a scale as to accommodate a whole legion, but only so as to contain one or more *cohortes* or *alae*, or other small detachments. Thus it is not the *legiones*, but the *auxilia*, with which we have now to deal. Now the names and numbers of the auxiliary forces stationed in Britain are given in five inscriptions on bronze tablets, which have been found in the island, and which are now preserved in the British Museum. These are the so-called *military diplomas*, bronze tablets in the form of diptychs, containing some particular soldier's copy (engraved in the usual double fashion, both within and without the diploma), of an imperial *privilegium*, which, for the non-citizens serving in particular corps therein named, and for the veterans, legitimates retrospectively after a certain number of years of service, their marriages with foreign wives, and bestows upon them the rights of citizenship, as well as other privileges. Nearly eighty of such documents have now been found, in all the provinces of the empire, covering the period from Claudius to Diocletian; it may be said that they supply us with the army list of the Roman host. The five diplomas which relate to the British army belong to the years 98, 103, 105, 124, and 146 of our era, and thus to the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. Together with the other inscribed stones found in England, they give us an almost complete survey of the *cohortes* and *alae* which once garrisoned the numerous stations of the province. This is one species of documentary evidence as to the British troops; and it gives also the basis for a statistical computation of the non-legionary portion of the army of Claudius, for a detailed examination leads us to the surprising result, that by far the largest part of the auxiliary troops had been, from the beginning, in the province, and remained there till its final evacuation. At any rate, hardly one cohort or ala was permanently removed from Britain; involuntary departures, like that of the mutinous cohort of Usipii, were replaced by fresh enlistments. On the other hand, so far as we can judge by comparing the statistics of the corps which garrisoned the other provinces, no considerable augmentation of the original muster-rolls seems to have taken place during the same interval.

II.—A confirmation hereof is afforded to us by the *second* kind of documentary evidence, which has a bearing on this question. It is well-known that we still possess the State Hand-book of the two empires, known as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which was compiled under the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius in the first decades of the fifth century. This book contains the distribution of the army through the provinces. It is this book alone that we have to thank for the knowledge of the names of most of the Roman stations along the Wall. The corps of soldiery which are reported as doing garrison duty therein, are, almost without exception, the same which we know, from the diplomas and from inscriptions, to have been stationed there since the beginning of the first century. So little liable to changes, at any rate as regards its component parts, was the organisation of the army during the three first centuries of our era.

The idea of formally closing the frontiers of the empire by a series of fortified works at places adapted thereto, was not for the first time carried into execution in Britain. The earliest example may, perhaps, have been set by the Median Wall between Euphrates and Tigris, mentioned in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the building of which was ascribed by legend to Semiramis. On the Lower Rhine we find Tiberius already beginning a similar boundary wall against the Germans. From the Sieg and Lahn to near Aschaffenburg, on the Main, and then again from the Main at Wertheim to the Danube, above Ratisbon, was carried the line of the most extensive work of the kind, the German Pfahlgraben, erected chiefly under Trajan and Hadrian. Unfortunately, of this we still lack a complete topographical survey such as we possess for its English rival. On the Lower Danube, from river to sea, parallel to the section of the railway from Tschernavodja to Kustendsche (Constantia), are still preserved the ruins of a similar erection of Trajan's. Hadrian, the greatest builder of any age, whose edifices surpass even those of the Kings of Egypt and Assyria in number, variety, and extent, came himself to Britain in the year 121—the poets of his court celebrated the inconceivable self-denial of this journey—and there conceived the idea, not indeed of hermetically sealing up the empire from the north by such a building—that idea, owing to a false analogy derived from the Chinese Wall, has often been quite incorrectly attributed to him—but rather of changing the character of the defensive warfare which had been hitherto carried on upon the border, and which, like every true system of defence, had also in it an element of the offensive. Henceforward, instead of a mere bundle of castles loosely tied together by roads, there was to be *one* prolonged frontier castle, which might serve as a firm basis of operations, not only against the north, but also against the south, where the loyalty of the Brigantes was by no means assured. Gates and roads led northwards across the Wall; advanced posts pushed out in the same direction showed that then, at least, the Roman authorities were by no means prepared to renounce the schemes of Agricola, and to abandon the northernmost portion of the island for ever to the barbarians.

Beginning at Wallsend, near the mouth of the Tyne, to the east of the smoke-famed City of Newcastle, with its Norman keep and its modern High Level Bridge, the Wall runs for about eighty Roman or seventy-four English miles, a straight course over hill and dale, till it reaches Bowness, on the southern shore of the Solway Firth. Throughout its entire course the work is evidently divided into three different parts—on the south side a wall of earth; on the north the stone wall with little forts and a multitude of sentry-boxes [turrets]; between them the seventeen great stations, and the line of road which connected them one with another.

The *earth-wall* [Vallum] on the south itself consists of three portions. A fosse 30 feet broad (in round numbers) and 10 feet deep lies in the middle of the work. A single mound rises to the north of this fosse and a double one to the south, each at a distance of 24 feet.

The northern mound, and the innermost of the two southern mounds, are each 6 to 7 feet high, with rounded and slowly rising profiles. the southernmost mound is somewhat lower. The core of the mound is often, especially in swampy ground, irregular rubble stone-work. The distance of the collective earth-work [Vallum] from the Wall on the north varies between 180 and 200 feet. In one place, about half-way between the two seas, where the Wall climbs the rocks to a height of more than 300 feet above the sea level, while the Vallum keeps to the bottom of the valley, the interval between them is as much as 500 feet. The earth-work is at both ends some miles shorter than that which is built of stone.

This *stone-wall* on the north, as is shown by the still almost uniformly visible foundations, is from 6 to 8 feet broad. Its original heights, crowned with battlements, are, of course, no longer to be seen. Bede, who lived in the eighth century, at the neighbouring convents of Wearmouth and Jarrow, south of the Tyne estuary, saw it still 12 feet high. Various witnesses in the sixteenth century speak of it as in several places still 16 feet high—8 to 10 is the height still reached in one part of its course. It was probably originally about 20 feet high. The core of the Wall is composed of what is called *opus incertum*—a concrete, hard as rock, of great and little blocks of stone welded together with mortar. The northern front is faced with tolerably regular blocks of moderate dimensions, generally 20 inches long, 10 broad, and 8 high, which as a rule have their long side laid in the depth of the Wall, while their short side is turned outwards. The southern front is systematically treated with less care and regularity; the blocks are smaller and more unsightly than in the north.

The stone that has been used is a pretty hard quartz-like sandstone, which is found in the heights south of the Wall. A series of quarries from which it was brought can still be traced. Fugitive inscriptions, carved in the live rock, preserve the remembrance of the Roman work-people.

At unequal distances the Wall was joined by rectangular buildings [turrets] of about 10 feet square, with one door of entrance in the southern side. The inner fabric was of wood. Already in Hersley's time, of the 320 turrets of this kind, which, according to the distances, are computed to have once existed along the whole line of the Wall, only three in one place were to be seen continuously; and now their foundations only remain in a very detached state.

At intervals of about one Roman mile from one another, but of course varying somewhat, in order to take advantage of a favourable configuration of the ground, there are certain lesser stations, of which in all within nearly eighty have been enumerated. The English call these buildings, not unsuitably, *mile-castles*. They are quadrangular enclosures surrounded by walls, the corners rounded off on the south side, about 60 feet square. The northern face generally coincides with the Wall, sometimes projects a little beyond it. There are gates, not only of ingress, in the southern side, but also of egress in the northern. The mile-castles are thus, in the wonted fashion, *fortified gates*. Of

buildings inside them virtually nothing has been discovered; they can only have been block-houses of wood.

On the northern side, wherever the ground allows of it, there runs a fosse of the same dimensions as that of the earth-wall on the south, 30 feet broad and 8 or 9 feet deep. Where rivers, like the Tyne, intersect the course of the Wall, bridges, built in excellent style, protected by *têtes-du-pont* on each bank, carry on the road alongside of the Wall.

Lastly, we come to the seventeen great camps called *Stationes* or *Prætenturae*, which, with the exception of three, somewhat south of the earth-wall, lie between it and the stone-wall at very unequal distances from each other; on an average they are five miles apart. It is quite possible that Hadrian's engineers may have included in their system of fortification points already occupied by the native population, or camping-grounds selected in the earlier marches of the Roman troops. In all essential points, however, they are constructed upon one uniform plan, and must have come into being at the same time. No monuments have yet been discovered in them which can with certainty be referred to the pre-Hadrianic age. Of the list of their names preserved in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, one clearly points to T. Ælius Hadrianus as the founder--Pons Ælius, the name given, out of compliment to him, to the station now represented by Newcastle, with its Roman bridge over the Tyne, the foundations of which have been recently discovered under those of the mediæval bridge.

The camps are all alike of the well-known oblong form. Their extent varies, according to the nature of the ground, between three and six acres (five to nine Prussian "morgen"). Walls of about 5 feet in thickness, mounds, and fosses, surrounded them. In almost all, the four principal gates and the chief streets intersecting one another at right angles are still clearly visible. Round some of them, as round the larger *coloniae*, great suburban buildings have clustered; baths, small temples, in one instance even an amphitheatre. The best preserved, formerly called "Borcovicium," now known to the country people as House-steads, is called by the local Antiquaries "the English Pompeii."

At two places, in the east and the west, the roads leading northwards intersect the Wall. On each of them, in Northumberland and southern Scotland, are situated at suitable distances two camps, and one is also pushed forwards about the middle of the Wall, thus making five in all.

The architectural features, which I have condensed into the briefest possible space, speak clearly enough for themselves. From the other sources of our knowledge, which have been described above, the military diplomas, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the inscriptions found on the spot, they receive yet clearer light. The Legatus of Hadrian, under whose orders the work was begun in the years 122-124, and probably soon afterwards finished in all its essential features, was named AULUS PLATORIUS NEPOS, an officer well known on other grounds. The work was executed by the three legions then stationed

in Britain, IInd, VIth, and XXth, while service at the front meanwhile devolved on detachments from three others, VIIth (stationed in Spain), and VIIIth and XXIIInd, both from Mainz, the former of which had already contributed a detachment to the army of invasion under Claudius. Besides the legions, a large part of the auxiliary cohorts and *alae* who garrisoned the camps laboured at the work. Many inscribed tablets, large and small, attest the share taken by each section of the troops in the building, often adding the measurement of the portions completed by each. In this way nearly every *centuria* had its share in the glory of the great work, and the record was wisely preserved in inscriptions as a reward of their honourable emulation.

If you stand on the steep cliff near House-steads and look down, northwards over the little Northumbrian lakes, southwards over the rich hill-pastures which the railroad traverses, you will soon recognise, your attention being called thereto by experienced eyes, the lines of Murus and Vallum stretching away up hill and down dale, straight as an arrow's flight, and losing themselves at last westwards and eastwards in the hazy distance. In the shady park of Chesters, where, on the wooded banks of North Tyne, lies the station of Cilurnum; in the little hotel of Gilsland Spa near Rose Hill; at Stanwix, the elegant villa suburb of Carlisle, with its charming view over the far-famed Lake district of Cumberland, which includes the high-lying site of the Roman camp of Petrianae; on the sea-shore at the two ends; and at many other places, you can still see detached portions of the Wall in relatively good preservation, and allow it to work its full impression on your mind. Still the visitor to these places will generally feel at first a certain sense of disappointment, like him who for the first time treads the Roman Forum or wanders through the narrow streets of Pompeii. Hard is it to keep down this feeling; but gradually it yields to the delight of intelligent appreciation, which is won by enthusiastic devotion to the study. It is with the eyes of the intellect, but with them alone, that the magnificent bulwark of Roman might in Northern England can be rightly beheld.

IV.—THE SCOTTISH WALL OF ANTONINUS PIUS, AND THE END OF THE ROMAN DOMINION IN BRITAIN.

If it were necessary to prove that in very deed the Wall of Hadrian by no means closed up the province from the North, but with its nearly eighty gates and its five camps advanced beyond its line, was rather a great offensive work intended to place the ever-advancing occupation by the Romans on a surer footing than that transitory one of Agricola's—for all this we have fully sufficient witness, the Wall of Antoninus. It is quite possible that the widely circulated biography of Tacitus may have suggested the idea of again pursuing, with more preparation and under happier auspices, the end which Agricola had attained, only to abandon it—namely, the occupation of the line Clota-

Bodotria (Glasgow-Edinburgh), decidedly the narrowest part of the whole island. This time also the army would have the great advantage of Hadrian's Wall as a base of operations. Just 20 years after the commencement of Hadrian's work, his successor, Antoninus Pius, erected an earth-work on this line (as we are expressly told in the only passage of any historian which has been preserved relating thereto). Of this earth-work large and clear traces remained down to the last century; and inscriptions in abundance found in its neighbourhood threw the same light on its history which similar evidence has thrown on the work of Hadrian. The common people called the rampart *Graham's Dyke* (or Gryme's Dyke), after Graeme, the hero of Scottish Saga, and ancestor of the Graham Clan. It must be admitted that the *Vallum Antonini*, early abandoned as we shall see that it was, has not left such clear traces of itself as the massive Wall of Hadrian. Moreover, we do not yet possess for it so careful a topographical sketch, combining the results of regular excavations, as we can refer to in the case of its southern rival. The line of the earth-wall, which is only very briefly alluded to in the Scottish chronicles, appears for the first time on an old map of Scotland, prepared by Timothy Pont, in the year 1565. William Camden (1599), the Scottish antiquaries, Sir Robert Sibbald (1607), and Dr. Irvine (1685), and again the Englishman, William Stukeley (1720), give us only very superficial notices of it. We have to thank Gordon and Horsley, those antiquaries of the eighteenth century, of whom we have already spoken in connection with the English Wall, for a somewhat more accurate description of this work also. But the first trustworthy details were the result of the general military survey, which was commenced in Scotland after the rebellion of 1745. It is the merit of William Roy, a distinguished officer of engineers, who was at a later period Major-General; and who won fame in the Seven Years' War, to have made, in the year 1764, a survey of the Scottish earth-wall, which is to this day the only accurate topographical sketch of it that we possess. The gallant officer spent a vast amount of time and trouble in reconnoitring a great number of old fortified places, all over Scotland. He believed that he had found certain criteria by which to decide as to the origin of such fortifications, whether British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Scottish, and so on. Supported by these reasonings, which were, from the nature of the case, often defective, he undertook to reconstruct Agricola's march to the north, from calculations as to the topographical hindrances which he would meet with, the marching powers of his troops, their commissariat, and the like; and he hoped in this way finally to settle the locality of the fight on Mount Graupius. In this, of course, he was disappointed, as his calculations, however carefully conducted, rested, for the most part, on false (or at any rate uncertain) premises. The question of the scene of the battle on Mount Graupius remains an open one, like that of the battle in the Teutoburger Wald, and many more of the like kind. But to the industry which he applied to its solution we owe, as has been already said, the survey of the earth-wall and its stations, which General Roy executed under circumstances which were

at any rate relatively favourable. In the century which has elapsed since he wrote, the destruction of the remains still visible in his time has gone forward with giant strides [the construction first of a road, then of a canal, and finally of a railway between Edinburgh and Glasgow having been the most powerful agents of destruction]. Roy's description is followed throughout by the excellent John Hodgson (1828). The last person who has described the earth-wall, without adding anything of his own, is the late Robert Stuart (1840), an intelligent bookseller of Glasgow, but no scholar. To the second edition of the *Caledonia Romana* of this author, a higher value has been imparted by some investigations made on the spot by Mr. John Buchanan, banker, of Glasgow, and Stuart's father-in-law.

Few words are needed to describe the manner of its construction. From Carridden, near Borrowstoness, on the Firth of Forth, to West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, near Dumbarton, a fosse about 40 feet wide and 20 deep is cut through the almost uniformly level country for a distance of, in round numbers, 40 Roman, or 37 English, miles, that is about half as long as the Wall of Hadrian. This fosse is accompanied on its southern side, at a distance of, on an average, 15 to 20 feet, by the earth-wall, almost everywhere like that of Hadrian, with a core of stones inside it, which has served for centuries as a quarry. The measurements are hard to determine. Roy, with some exaggeration, estimates the breadth at the base at 24 feet, the height, inclusive of a breast-work, at 20 feet; but (even in his time) the Wall was nowhere preserved higher than 5 to 6 feet. We cannot find that there ever was one uniform angle of the profile, and must conclude that from the first the gradient varied according to the nature of the ground. Only in certain places, for instance between Rough Castle and Castle Cary, have the foundations of turrets and mile-castles been observed; of these there are now no remains. Uniformly south of the fosse, there lie, at very unequal distances from one another, the ten great camps, with their northern face invariably coinciding with the Wall, all of square or oblong form; varying in dimensions from 500 feet by 300 to 300 by 200, surrounded with a broad mound and fosse; generally, when the road intersects them, with three gates, sometimes with only one gate on the south side, *with the north side invariably closed*. No traces have been recognised of edifices in the inside of those camps; such buildings as there were were probably of wood. As with the Wall of Hadrian, the camps are linked together by a military road, running always south of the fosse, and generally south of the camps, but sometimes intersecting the latter. It is a curious thing that none of the previous investigators of the Wall have noticed that the names of the ten camps are preserved, though in a grievously disfigured state, by the author of the *Itinerary*, which was put together in the sixth century by some one at the court of Ravenna, writing in the Greek language, and which we now possess in a sadly erroneous re-translation into Latin, the work of some uneducated scribe. About 50 inscriptions have been found in the stations along the Wall. They are preserved, for the most part, in the museum founded by the illus-

trious Hunter, at the University of Glasgow. Only a few are to be seen at Edinburgh (in the museum at the Royal Institution). They are chiefly large stone tablets, executed in an uniform fashion, containing a dedication to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, inscribed by that particular section of the troops which executed the portion of the Wall to which the inscription refers. The number of paces [pedatura] in this portion is then added. On many there are reliefs in somewhat rough workmanship, representing some gods, Mars, Victory, and the Courage of the Emperor, the Emperor high on his horse, riding down the foe, a festal sacrifice in his honour, the symbols of the legions—for example a boar—and similar subjects. No other Emperor than Antoninus Pius is ever met with upon them. The legatus of the Emperor, who commenced the building in the year 142, and who, probably, also completed it, was called QUINTUS LOLLIVS URBICVS. He is known to us by the monuments which record his governorship in Africa, before he came to the province of Britain. The troops who executed the work were, again, detachments of the three British legions, and of the cohorts and alae stationed along the line of Hadrian's Wall.

It is clear from this description that the rampart of Antoninus was, in four essential features, a repetition of that of Hadrian, built on the same principles (only without the stone wall on the north, which was perhaps contemplated, but never executed), and with the same end in view—to complete the pacification of the territory lying south of it, and to commence the subjugation of that lying north. At least *one* considerable camp in advance of it to the north is still visible, that of Ardoch, northward from Stirling. There the gravestone of a soldier of a Spanish cohort has been found. He must have done garrison duty at this place for some time at the end of the second century. This is the most northerly inscription in the Latin tongue that we know of.

The Wall of Antoninus is the last great strategic construction that the history of the British province has to show us. With it the story of the annexation itself comes to a close. We must not here tell in detail the story of the province for the three following centuries, down to the withdrawal of the last Roman garrison, though that, too, possesses an interest quite above the average of provincial history. Though literary narrative here fails us, we can trace by means of the monuments, even in small details, how, for the next 60 years after the successful exertions of Hadrian and Antonine, especially under the mild sway of the philosophical Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and down to the confines of the first and second century of our era, a period of peace and of material prosperity ensued, even for Britain. In the comparatively mild southern portion of the island, trade and agriculture flourished. Numerous villas, provided with all the southern luxuries of warm baths and spacious halls with mosaic pavements, as large, and of as various designs as those which we meet with in the Rhine Valley, in Southern France and Spain, have been discovered in this part of Britain. The hot springs of the goddess Sulis-Minerva, at Bath (that most comfortable of the watering places of last century),

were even at that time in great request among the provincials. Many objects of art, of beautiful workmanship, which have been found in these places, bear witness to the cultivated artistic taste of their former possessors.

A building so large as the whole extent of Hadrian's Wall, exposed to all the severity of a northern climate, required constant attention, and hence proceeded the frequent repairs of which we find mention in various monuments. Of the attacks of enemies, however, we find no mention, though the charred embers and blackened stones of some of the camps and mile-castles show that such attacks did take place.

Under Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, we find the old instinct for freedom of the Brigantes again asserting itself here and there. The valiant Emperor Septimius visits Britain in person, along with his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, in order to restore the discipline of the troops, which had been relaxed during the long interval of peace, to arm the camps anew, and to put down this insurrectionary movement. So comprehensive was his activity with reference to the Wall of Hadrian that on the pages of his encomiastic biographer [Spartianus] he, not the earlier Emperor, is represented as the builder at least of its stone walls, its gates, and towers. This is a manifest error, and one that is easily confuted by the above-mentioned architectural evidence. It has, however, given rise in very recent times to a lively controversy between the antiquaries of two English counties. The Northumbrians, arguing from the name of their own town, Pons Ælius, claimed, and were fully justified in claiming, Hadrian as founder of the whole work in all its parts, as the man whose one mind planned it all. The men of Cumberland, on the other hand, maintained the claims of Severus, especially because in the mediæval says and sagas of their home the Wall was still called *Gual Sever*, the Wall of Severus.

At the same time, the great camps between the English and Scottish Walls were rebuilt from the foundations and enlarged by order of Severus. One of these, High Rochester, the ancient Brementium, which the Duke of Northumberland, to whom the ground belongs, has allowed to lie, for the most part, unoccupied, shows with great clearness the plan and arrangement of a Roman camp.

The statement of some of the ancient authorities that by Severus also a *Murus* of thirty-two Roman miles in length was built across the island cannot be easily applied (as some modern writers have sought to apply it) to the Wall of Antoninus Pius, for this, as all excavations have proved, was always only an earthen wall of the length of forty Roman miles, not a *Murus*; and not a single epigraphical testimony except the frequent ones relating to Antoninus Pius has been found on the line of the Scottish Wall. The idea of a *Murus* built by Severus may have arisen from the fact, misinterpreted in his favour, that a thorough repair of Hadrian's Wall (perhaps for an extent of thirty-two miles) was due to him.

Besides the land of the Brigantes, Wales, the country of the Silures, was the centre of perpetual attempts at insurrection on the part of its warlike inhabitants. Any one who has seen the vast masses

of Snowdon, and the romantic gorges of South Wales will easily understand that the peculiar conformation of this country almost invites to guerilla warfare. Here, too, Severus took measures of a permanent kind. As was before related, he removed the 2nd Legion from their old head-quarters at Gloucester to Caerleon, in South Wales. He also erected new forts overlooking the Irish Sea.

The great military importance of the province found its expression in the pronouncement of the British army in favour of Albinus, the anti-Emperor, proclaimed in Gaul and Germany. In order to guard against such dangers for the future, Severus divided the command of the province between two officers of equal rank, the *legati* of the upper and lower provinces. In other provinces it had been sought, long ago, to guard in similar fashion against the dangers of the great military commands. The partition of the office in Britain seems, however, not to have been of long continuance.

But it was under the Emperor Severus that the first step backwards was taken in Britain. There is a tradition which seems worthy of credit, that then first the garrisons were withdrawn from the camps upon the Scottish Wall. The comprehensive scheme of new fortifications for the Hadrianic Wall, and for the camps covering it in front, seems to have stood in very close connection with this measure. Only the stations of the road along the course of the Scottish Wall are still mentioned in the itineraries of the empire.

In the course of the third century, under the modifying influence of the centrifugal tendencies towards independence and federalism, which were then sweeping in all directions through the empire, the offspring themselves of the dreams of nationality already haunting the imperial armies, York, like Lyons and Trier, becomes for a little time the seat of a rival Cæsarship of not inconsiderable importance; I allude to the reign of Carausius. But Diocletian's strong reconstruction of the true Roman monarchy, and Constantine's additions thereto, in connection with the division of the empire between east and west, a division which, it is true, foreshadowed "the beginning of the end," did for the present destroy the head of the hydra. The barbarians pressing into the country by land, over the northern frontier, by sea upon the eastern coast, like a wave breaking far out at sea, but ever stoutly gnawing at the shore, and at last coming on with yet stronger and more evident impulse, dashed off the varnish of Roman civilisation, which had perhaps never penetrated very deeply, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the camps and fortresses, and did not adhere deeply even there. While in the interior of the country, especially in the centre and west of the island, the Roman element had, as it appears, long yielded to the native influence, nearly to the last, as the *Notitia Dignitatum* shows, the dying empire kept its hand upon the Wall of Hadrian, upon the places by the coast, and, before all, upon the harbours of the Channel. Still, towards the end of the fourth century, earnest attention was given, as is shown by the mile-stones which have been preserved, to the work of keeping in good repair, and even extending the net-work of roads which bound the

camps together. In this last epoch a new interest—the religious—came to the front in the province, as in the empire. The native British population, little Romanised, but early won over to Christianity—the lower orders in the country—kept their Christian faith true in spite of all invaders, even maintaining their own special forms and dogmas in the face of the Saxon conquerors, when these too, in the course of the following centuries, had been converted to Christianity. But this subject, though it belongs to a still practically unwritten chapter of history, must not be entered upon here. By the middle of the fifth century the province was definitively abandoned by Rome.

We are now at the end of our task. Should any one ask what was the permanent result of the annexation of Britain, achieved by so many toils and sacrifices, and maintained with such stubborn strength, the most concise answer (though it is one of a negative kind) is furnished by a phenomenon with which we are all familiar—the English language. That language is essentially Germanic; it has Romanic elements, but it owes them exclusively to the Norman invasion. Never, therefore, did the Roman conquest lead in Britain, as it did lead in Southern France and Spain, to a veritable *assimilation*. Strangers did the Roman conquerors remain during the four centuries of their tarriance in Britain; as strangers did they at length retire before the fresh nationalities for whom it was reserved, not merely to become lords of the country, but to find in it their enduring home.



X.—NEWLY DISCOVERED ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS.

1.—ON AN ALTAR TO *FORTUNA CONSERVATRIX*, FROM
CILURNUM, BY JOHN CLAYTON, F.S.A., V.P.

[Read on the 29th October, 1884.]

THE Roman buildings recently discovered between the eastern rampart of the station of Cilurnum and the river North Tyne have been already partially excavated, and the further excavation is in progress; but the buildings are found to be more extensive and more important than was expected, and it is probable that the excavation may not be completed till the spring of next year, when a full description of the structures by an abler hand than mine, with an accurate plan of the whole, will be laid before the Society. In the meantime, detached objects will necessarily be met with, which ought at once to be brought before the Society. One of such objects, being an altar inscribed to the goddess Fortune, of which a woodcut from a drawing from the pencil of Mr. Blair, our colleague, and one of our secretaries, is here annexed. The figure of the goddess is sculptured on the face of the altar. In one hand she holds a cornucopia, in the other a wheel—both of them appendages of the goddess, and generally found upon her statues. The following is an expanded reading of the inscription:—



D[E]AE
FORT[VNAE] Co-
NSERVATR-
ICI • VENENV-
S GERM[ANVS]
L[IBENTER] M[ERITO].

The ravages of time, on the features and dress of the goddess, are apparent, but every letter is legible. The use of tied letters in this inscription indicates that its date was not earlier than the reign of



Antoninus Pius, when the use of ligatures, or tied letters, was first introduced. Roman altars to Fortune are very frequently found, but the application to her of the epithet *Conservatrix* is almost unique. Only two more examples are in existence in Britain, one* was found in the year 1740 (and remains) at Netherby, in Cumberland, the seat of Sir Frederick Ulric Graham, Bart., and we will now endeavour to trace the history of the third. In Orellius a similar altar is described as having been found at Bath; but in the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscript. Latin.*, No. 211, we are informed that the mention by Orellius, of Bath as the place where this altar was found, is a mistake, and that, in fact, it was found at or near Manchester, and was either lost or concealed. Mr. W.

Thompson Watkin of Liverpool, in going systematically through (on the 30th of May, 1884) the collection of Roman inscriptions and sculptures preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, came upon

* See Woodcut above.

this identical altar. It seems that in 1875 it was presented to the museum by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, M.A., now Dean of Chichester, and from him we learn that it was purchased early in this century at a sale, by his father, a distinguished official in the British Museum, who gave it to a relation of the name of Johnson resident at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, at whose death it came to his nephew, the Rev. J. W. Burgon. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*,* describes this Altar, and gives us the inscription as follows :—

FORTVNAE
CONSERVA- (v and A ligulate)
TRICI
L. SENE CIA-
NIVS† MAR-
TIVS ∫ LEG
VI VICT.

Though he refers us to Camden's *Britannia* as his authority, we can find there no mention of the altar; but we find it described in one of Bishop Gibson's interpolations in his translation of Camden,‡ in which he speaks of it in the following terms:—"Another inscription was dug up at the same place,§ by the River Medlock, in the year 1616. The stone is three quarters long, fifteen inches broad, and eleven thick, and is preserved entire in the garden at Hulme, the seat of the Blands, lords of the town of Manchester, by marriage with the heiress of the Moseleys. It seems to be an altar dedicated to Fortune by L. Senecianus† Martius, the third governor or commander of the Sixth Legion." The dedicator of the Cilurnum altar, like the dedicators of the two altars found last year at Borcovicus, is a German serving in the Roman army; but the particular branch of the service to which he belonged is not stated, as is done in the case of the dedicators of the two altars at Borcovicus.

* P. 301 and plate N. 61 (*Lancashire I*).

† By the courtesy of Mr. Arthur J. Evans, the curator of the Ashmolean Museum, we are able to state that Horsley's reading of the name of the dedicator of the altar—SENECIANIVS—is correct, and that Bishop Gibson is wrong.

‡ Page 966.

§ Alparc or Aldport.

2.—ON A ROMAN ALTAR FROM BYKER, BY J. COLLINGWOOD
BRUCE, LL.D., D.C.L., V.P.

[Read on the 26th November, 1884.]

IN making the cutting for a road at the east end of Byker Bridge, a Roman altar was found about three weeks ago. As the inscription on it is nearly effaced, its value consists simply in its indicating the course of the Wall in its passage to the station of *Pons Ælii*.

The altar is a small one, but it is well formed. It is 1 foot 10 inches high and 11 inches broad. It has the usual capital and projecting base. The capital is ornamented by two lines of the cable pattern moulding. On its top is the focus, as usual, on which the offering was burnt, and on each side of it are indications of the volutes which are supposed to symbolize the faggots used in burning the sacrifice. At some late period a hole has been bored through the upper angle of the stone at its right hand side.

Unfortunately, owing to the altar having been made use of as a sharpening stone, the greater part of the inscription, which it once no doubt bore, has been worn off. Usually inscriptions on Roman altars begin with the name of the gods to whom they are dedicated, put in the dative case. Here the inscription begins with the name of a man, probably the dedicator, in the nominative case. The inscription has consisted of seven lines. The first and second lines are complete, they are:—



IVL·MAX
IMVS·SAC
D·I . . .
Q
P E
C V

Of the other lines we have only the initial letter or letters; they seem to be (3rd line) D.I, (4th) O or Q, (5th) P E. Any attempt to draw any meaning out of this inscription beyond the name of the

dedicator, if such it be, can only be guess work. Yet I will venture upon an expansion of the third line, in the full expectation that it will be objected to by more able epigraphists than myself. I would venture to read:—IVLIUS MAXIMVS SACERdos Dei Invicti Mithræ. “Julius Maximus, priest of the unconquered god Mithras.” Mithras, the Persian sun god, was extensively worshipped along the line of the Roman Wall. As the sun is the chief agent in the hands of the living God in promoting light and warmth and growth, it was natural that those who could not or would not rise up to the conception and worship of the first Great Cause, should be satisfied with the adoration of this work of His hands.

3.—ON CENTURIAL STONES NEAR GILSLAND, BY DR. BRUCE.

[Read on the 28th January, 1885.]

THE Rev. A. Wright, Vicar of Over-Denton, has recently called my attention to three unrecorded centurial stones found in the neighbourhood of Gilsland. Two of these I have examined along with him; the third has been discovered since I was last in the west.

In the garden wall at Willowford farm house, close to the front door, is a stone which bears the inscription—

O COCCEI

REGVLI

“The Century of Cocceius Regulus.”

A stone, which is now in the possession of Mr. John Armstrong, of the Crooks, and was found by him in a field-wall between Gap and Chapel House a few years ago, bears the following inscription:—

COH VI

▷ CALEDO

NII SECVND



Some of the letters are very obscure. The last two letters of the second line and the last three of the third are in ligature. After considerable trouble, Mr. Wright and I came to the conclusion that the reading of it was probably as follows:—*Cohortis sextae, centuria Caledonii Secundi*. “The century of Caledonius Secundus (or Secundinus) of the sixth Cohort.”

The third stone* was found at Newhall, which is to the north-west of Wallend. The inscription seems to read :—

COH II

O LAETIN

“The century of Laetinus (or Laetianus) of the second Cohort.” The only letter about which there seems to be any doubt is the last letter of the last line, it may be an N, or we may have IA.

The stone has seemingly been cut down for building purposes since being taken out of the Roman Wall.

4.—ON TWO UNPUBLISHED ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS, BY DR. BRUCE;
IN A LETTER TO ROBERT BLAIR, SECRETARY.

[Read on the 29th April, 1885.]

I HAVE had an opportunity of examining the centurial stone which you informed me had been discovered at Hexham lately, and is now in the possession of Mr. Gibson. It seems that it was taken out of the wall of a house which had been built in the seventeenth century—say about 1640.

The stone bears all the characteristics of a Roman walling stone. It is sixteen inches long, tapering, as is usual, from its outer to its inner extremity. Its face is 1 foot in width, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and is, as almost universally is the case, cut across the lines of stratification. The inscription is as you represented it to be, thus :—



CH VIII I > MA

RCI Co MA

The only point on which there can be any doubt is, as you are aware, the last two letters of the second line. You were disposed to regard them as two M's in ligature. I saw the inscription in a particularly good light, and I thought I saw in the last character a horizontal stroke, giving it the appearance of MA in ligature. I may mention that the letters have been formed by a series of punctu-rings, a mode which we have frequently noticed.

* This and the stone from Willowford farm-house are now in the possession of Mr. George Howard, M.P., at Naworth Castle.

Now, as to the reading of the inscription. If I am right as to the last character being MA, it probably is:—

Cohortis nonæ, centuria Ma
rci Comati

If the last letter be an M, the reading may be:—

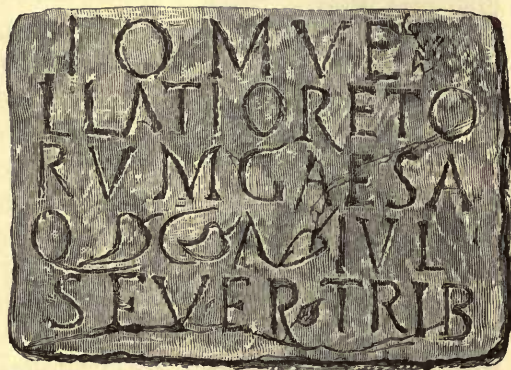
Cohortis nonæ, centuria Ma
rci Communis.

Both of these names, Dr. Hübner (from whom I have heard since he got your squeeze of the stone) suggests as likely ones, though neither of them have previously occurred in British inscriptions.

This stone forms another link in the chain of reasoning which would rank Hexham among the posts occupied by the Romans.

The woodcut on the preceding page, from a photograph which Mr. Gibson has prepared with his usual skill, gives a perfect representation of this interesting relic.

Several days ago there was sent to me, by direction of the Marquis of Lothian, a plaster of Paris cast of a Roman inscription found upon a stone that is built into the north turret stair of Jedburgh Abbey. I was asked to give his lordship my views respecting it. As the stone

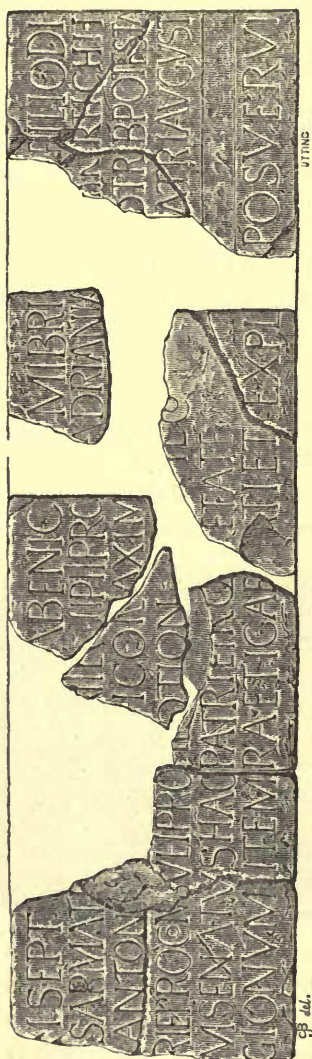


I O M VEXI-
LLATIO RETO-
RVM GAESA .
Q C A IVL .
SEVER TRIB

has to a large extent escaped the notice of writers upon Scottish archæology,* and as the troops and their tribune, who inscribed it, seem to have hailed from HABITANCUM, the modern Risingham, a station on the Watling Street, on our side of the Border, it may be agreeable to this society to have a brief account of it.

* It is described in Jeffrey's *History of Roxburghshire*, and a figure of it given, but the inscription is not fully represented.

Most of the letters of the inscription are distinct; one or two are partially obliterated, and one or two have been purposely effaced. Notwithstanding this circumstance I have no doubt that it is to be



read as already given. The expansion of it will necessarily be *Jovi optimo maximo vexillatio Retorum Gaesatorum quorum curam agit Julius Severinus tribunus*. "To Jupiter the best and greatest, the vexillation of Raetian spearmen under the command of Julius Severinus (dedicates this)."

The word *Retorum* is manifestly a rustic spelling of the word *Raetorum*. We have only once before, in our British antiquities, met with the word *Gaesati*. It occurs on the fine large slab in our own museum, which came from Risingham, and is here shown. It is No. 628 in our *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, and No. 1,002 in the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (vol. vii). The last line of the inscription reads *Cohors prima Vangionum, item Raeti gaesati et exploratores . . . posuerunt*.

The term *gaesati* has been derived from the word *gaesum* or *gaesa*, signifying a spear or javelin. The weapon in question was one which, at first, was only used by barbaric tribes; but it was eventually adopted by some of the Roman forces. These Raetians were evidently armed with it.

Two altars found at Risingham, but now lost, have probably been dedicated by the Raeti. The reading on them is VEXII G · R, which Professor Hübner expands thus:—*Vexillarii Germani Raeti*. See *Lapid.*, Nos. 391, and 392, and *C.I.L.*, Nos. 987, 988.

There is another stone in our museum, also from Risingham, which sheds light upon the Jedburgh inscription. It is an altar to Fortune, being No. 602 of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* and No. 984 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (vol. vii). The inscription reads:—



FORTVNAE · REDVCI
IVLIVS SEVERINVS
TRIB · EXPLICITO ♀
BALINEO · VSLM

“To Fortune, that brings back in safety, Julius Severinus, the tribune, on the completion of the bath, erects this altar in discharge of a vow, willingly and to a most deserving object.” There can be little doubt that the IVLIVS SEVERINVS of this altar is the IVL SEVER of the

Jedburgh inscription. Hence we may conclude that the body of Raetians whom we find at Risingham is the same force which have left their mark on the stone in Jedburgh Abbey. Risingham is quite in the north of Northumberland, and, as we have stated, is situated on the Watling Street; Jedburgh is but a short way within the Scottish border, and is within two miles of the Watling Street. The one place would be but an easy march from the other.

Professor Hübner, I may mention, agrees with me in the reading which I have given of the inscription.

NOTE.—A Vexillation of Raeti and Norici is mentioned on an altar found at Manchester, which is represented in the woodcut (kindly lent by Mr. W. T. Watkin):—



5.—ON A ROMAN INSCRIBED TOMBSTONE FOUND IN CARLISLE, &c.,
BY R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., IN A LETTER TO DR. BRUCE, V.P.

[Read on the 25th March, 1885.]

Lowther Street, Carlisle, 24th March, 1885.

MY DEAR DR. BRUCE,—For some time past excavations for building purposes have been in progress in Carlisle on a site known as the Spring Garden Bowling Green, and situate on the east side of Lowther Street, at its northern end. It therefore lies immediately outside of the north-east angle of the Roman and mediæval city. With the exception of a small public house and some sheds this site has never been built upon. It was a garden and bowling green in 1745, when its hedges were cut down for fear they might give shelter to the Highlanders.

I have watched the excavations with interest. Over most of the area there was a thin stratum of garden soil, while the earth below had never been disturbed. Close to Lowther Street a trench, filled up with mud and miscellaneous matter, marked the city ditch, which was open in the memory of many now living. On the north side of the garden was found a deep pocket of made soil, in which was the slab I am about to describe. Many animal bones, including, it is said, the skeleton of a donkey, were found here; and also two skulls, which I did not see, but which are said to be human. The slab was in this pocket; it was in an inclining position, face upwards, at an angle of about 45° with the horizon. Most unfortunately, before its nature was suspected, a cart passed over it and broke off the top of the stone, which was at once knocked into fragments, and either built into foundations or pitched away—at any rate, it cannot be found.

The extreme height of the slab is now 4 feet 8 inches, and breadth 3 feet 2 inches. It is of considerable thickness and weight, and is of the local soft red sandstone. A deep alcove is cut in the upper part, in which is a figure—now headless, the head and the top of the alcove having been destroyed by the cart. The height of the figure is 2 feet 2 inches. It represents a child in upper and under tunic. The under tunic reaches to the little feet, which peep out beneath it, and its tight sleeves come down to the wrists; the upper tunic comes to the knees, and has large sleeves reaching to the elbows. A girdle is round the

waist, and a large scarf or comforter has been wrapped round the child's throat and chest to protect it from the cold. The child probably

died of bronchitis. The costume, if in woollen material, would be at once warm, sensible, and convenient. The left hand is raised to the breast, the right, extended downwards, holds a fir-cone.

Below the figure a panel is cut in the stone, 2 feet 2 inches broad by 1 foot high, and having on each side the well-known dovetail projections.

DIS
VACIAINF
ANSANIII

The letters are unusually distinct, though before the stone was washed I had some doubt as to the final III, as a flaw in the stone made it look like VI (not VI); but after the stone was washed

and placed in the Museum, under strong light, both sun and gas, the III came out clear.

I venture to read this—

VACIA INFANS AN[NORUM] III.

“Vacia, an infant of three years;”



and Professor Clark and Mr. Watkin agree ; as I also gather from your card, does Professor Hübner.

“Vacia” occurs on a slab found at Great Chesters (*Lap. Sep.*, 282), which is expanded as—

D[IIS] M[ANIBUS]
ÆL[IO] MERCU-
RIALI CORNICUL[ARIO]
VACIA SOROR
FECIT.



You will be glad to hear that the Roman bagpiper has at last made his appearance in the Museum. I had him brought from Stanwix in

October last; but, owing to his weight—over half a ton—we dare not take him up the stairs and over the floor. However, a few days ago, we opened a back entry, and the Corporation workmen hauled the piper up with tackle to a safe place, with a cross wall under him. He is much disfigured with tar from the water butt, which he latterly supported.—I remain, yours truly,

RICH. S. FERGUSON.

6.—ON THE DISCOVERY OF FIVE ROMAN MILESTONES.

BY DR. BRUCE, VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read on the 29th July, 1885.]

AT one of our recent meetings I ventured to remark that our Society was more fortunate than most of those in the South of England, for whereas they were very rarely able to boast of a new inscription of the Roman era, we had a fresh one to discuss nearly every month. In quick succession we have had laid before us, in papers by Mr. Clayton, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, and myself:—An account of two milestones found at Cawfields; two very important altars, found at Housesteads, dedicated to Mars Thingsus and two German divinities by Germans serving in the Roman army in a Dutch Cohort; an altar found at Chesters, dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix; a funereal stone found at South Shields, and another discovered at Carlisle. To-night I have the happiness to describe, under the auspices of our senior Vice-President, on whose estate they have been found, no less than five milestones, all of them having inscriptions. It may be well first of all to describe the place in which they were found. The farm of Crindle Dykes lies to the south of the Housesteads farm, and of the public road extending from Newcastle to Carlisle called the Military Road in consequence of its having been formed for military purposes after the rebellion of 1745. Passing over the crown of the hill, which is here a striking object in the landscape, it extends down its southern slope towards the river South Tyne. But there is another and a more ancient road which traverses the Crindle Dykes farm from east to west, and which has been used from time immemorial as a township highway. It was known in the Middle Ages as the Stanegate, or the Stone Road, being so called in contradistinction to the unpaved roads which

usually prevailed in earlier times. This road is in reality a Roman one. As such it is laid down in the *Survey of the Roman Wall* by Mr. MacLauchlan—a survey most accurately executed, and for which we are indebted to the sound judgment and generous spirit of Algernon, the fourth Duke of Northumberland. In this survey the road is laid down as proceeding from Walwick Grange, a hamlet adjacent to the station of CILURNUM, passing Fourstones, Newbrough, and Chesterholm (the Roman VINDOLANA), and coming to Carvoran (the Roman MAGNA). Here it meets the Maiden Way, the great Roman road on which the traffic between the south and the north was carried on, and then proceeds westward to Birdoswald (the Roman AMBOGLANNA). Mr. MacLauchlan professes only to trace the Stanegate from Walwick Grange to Birdoswald, but he indicates the possibility of its extension to CILURNUM. In order to test this matter, a cutting was made by Mr. Clayton two or three years ago, on the presumed line of its course between the southern gateway of CILURNUM and Walwick Grange, when a nearly perfect Roman road was discovered about two feet beneath the surface. It was twenty-seven feet in width, and had kerb-stones on each side of it. It may also be stated that traces of this road have been found westward of Birdoswald, and are laid down on Mr. MacLauchlan's survey, thus leading to the opinion that it extended from Birdoswald in the direction of Carlisle.

The five milestones that I am now to describe, have been found on the north side of the Stanegate, on the Crindle Dykes farm. The stones were all found in near contiguity with each other. In the course of the excavations which were made, the original Roman road was exposed at about two feet below the existing highway, with its accustomed kerb-stones. These milliaries were found exactly one Roman mile to the east of one which is still standing on the Stanegate, in the immediate vicinity of VINDOLANA, on the spot where, doubtless, Roman hands placed it, sixteen or seventeen centuries ago. In consequence of its long exposure to the elements, the inscription which it once bore is now nearly obliterated; some strokes which may be portions of letters can be discerned, but nothing can be made of them. Horsley seems to have read the inscription. He says, "The military way that passes directly from Walwick Chesters to Carvoran is here [Chesterholm] very visible, and close by the side of it stands a piece of a large rude pillar with a remarkable inscription upon it in

large letters, but very coarse, BONO REIPUBLICAE NATO. No doubt this was a compliment to the reigning emperor.”* A generation or so ago another stone was standing a Roman mile to the west of this one, but it was split in two by the occupant of the farm and the severed parts made use of as gate-posts. The fragments of this stone at present lie by the side of the road.

Now it was at the distance of a Roman mile from the milestone which is still standing, that the five milestones I am now to describe were found. The circumstance of this part of the farm having been subjected to the modern process of tile draining, was the cause of their being brought to light. The stones have all been carefully photographed by our skilled associate, Mr. Gibson, and copies of his work are, by Mr. Clayton's desire, laid upon our table. From the photographs it will be observed that the stones are very rudely dressed, and that the task of deciphering the inscriptions is not an easy one. I

shall not be at all surprised if some of my present readings should eventually be found to need revision.

The earliest of the stones belongs to the time of Severus Alexander. It is a nicely rounded pillar, four feet six inches high, and seven inches in diameter. The inscription on it seems to be this :—



IMP CA[ES]
SEVER [ALEX]
PIO [FEL. AVG. P. M.]
COS PP CVR
L[E]G AVG. [PR. PR.]
MP XIII

Imperatorī Caesarī
Severo [Alexandro]
Pio [felici Augusto pontifici maximo]
consuli, patri patriae, curante
legato Augusti propraetore
millia passuum quatuordecim.

“To the Emperor, Caesar, Severus [Alexander, happy, august, chief

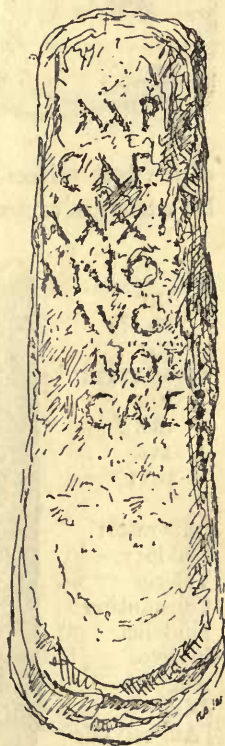
* *Britannia Romana*, p. 228.

priest] Pius, consul, father of his country, (this stone was erected) by order of — Imperial legate (and propractor). Fourteen miles." I may remark that the A and the V at the end of the 5th line are ligulate, and have the appearance of two Xs. The Severus to whom this stone is dedicated, is probably Severus Alexander; the character of the lettering upon it being precisely similar to that on another milestone found at Cawfields, which was brought under the notice of this Society a short time ago,* and which undoubtedly belongs to this emperor. An important inscription found at Chesters, and bearing the name of Elagabalus† as Augustus, and of Severus Alexander as Caesar, bears the date of A.D. 221. In this inscription Marius Valerianus is represented as being the Imperial Legate at the time.

The next stone seems to bear the name of Maximinus, but which of the Emperors of that name it is difficult to say, though, judging from the coarseness both of the stone and of the lettering, it is probably of the later Emperor, Maximinus Daza, who reigned from A.D. 305 to A.D. 314. The stone is precisely similar in character to another milliary of Maximinus, which was discovered at Corbridge, and is now in the Museum of the Duke of Northumberland, at Alnwick Castle. See *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 643. The newly discovered pillar is five feet two inches high, and has a diameter at top of one foot two inches, and at bottom of one foot eight inches. The inscription is:—

IMP	Imperator
CAE	Caesari
MAXI	Maxi
MINO	Mino
AVG	Augusto
NOB	Nobilissimo
CAES	Caesari.

"To the Emperor Caesar Maximinus Augustus (and) the most noble Caesar."



* *Archaeologia Aeliana*, IX. 211. † *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 121.

The stone which comes next in chronological order has not the usual form of a milestone, but is a flat slab measuring two feet four inches in length, by one foot four inches in breadth; the lower end bears marks of recent fracture. Its inscription presents no difficulties; it is—



M AVR	Marcus Aurelius
PROBVS	Probus
P F INVIC	Pius, felix, invictus
AVG	Augustus.

“Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius, happy, unconquered, Augustus.” Probus reigned from A.D. 276 to 282. He was a most successful warrior and a wise governor. “History,” says the late Professor Ramsay, in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, “has unhesitatingly pronounced that the character of Probus stands without a rival in the annals of imperial Rome, combining all the best features of the best princes who adorned the purple.” He was murdered by his soldiers in consequence of his employing them in laborious works of public utility. It is interesting to find in our immediate neighbourhood so distinct a notice of so remarkable a man. No other stone found in Britain bears his name.

IMP
FL (?)
VAL
CONSTANTIN
P. F
INV
AVG
DIVI

Imperatori
Flavio
Valerio
Constantino
pio felici
invicto
Augusto
Divi
[Augusti filio]



We now come to the period of the Constantines. On a rounded column of very coarse millstone grit, three feet seven inches high and eleven inches in diameter, is the annexed inscription:—“To the Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus Pius, happy, unconquered, Augustus, the son of the deified (Augustus Constantius).” This inscription strongly resembles one which was discovered some years ago on the side of the road leading into the Roman station of Ancaster in the county of Lincoln, which is figured in Mr. C. Roach Smith's

Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. V. p. 149, and which forms No. 1170 in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. VII. The second line of the

inscription has here been to some extent conjecturally restored; a flaw in the stone partially interfering with it. The pillar was found in two pieces, but the parts fit accurately together.

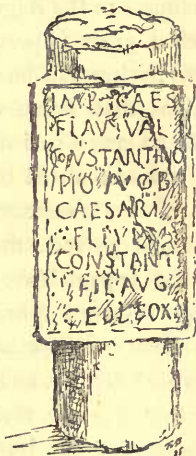
The fifth stone is dedicated to Constantine the Great and to his son Flavius Julius Constans. The stone is peculiar in its form; for the most part it is cylindrical, but the portion on which the inscription is carved forms a flat moulded tablet.

The height of it is three feet two inches, and the width about one foot two inches.

The following is the inscription:—"To the Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus Pius Augustus, and to the Caesar Flavius Julius Constans the son of the Augustus" The latter part of the fourth line of the inscription is somewhat bleared; some read NOB, instead of the reading I have given. The last line is so obscure as to have as yet resisted all attempts to unravel it.

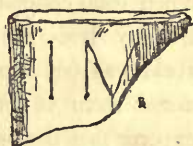
Besides these five stones, which are nearly entire, fragments of two others have been found in the same place. One of these has inscribed on it, of a large size, the well-formed letters IM, forming probably part of the word *Imperator*. The milestone, of which this fragment formed a part, has, it is feared, been destroyed long ago. Another fragment, forming apparently the bottom of a pedestal, has on it the letters L. I. Can these be intended for *Leuga una*, one league. On many French milestones leagues are given instead of miles.

Now it will naturally cause surprise that so many milestones should have been found in one spot. If used for the ordinary purpose of informing a traveller as to his progress on his journey, they would not require renewal at such short intervals as the inscriptions on these seem to indicate.



IMP CAES
FLAV VAL
CONSTANTINO
PIO AVG ET (?)
CAESARI
FL IVL
CONSTANTI
FIL AVG
... E . LLO .

Imperatori Caesari
Flavio Valerio
Constantino
pio Augusto et
Caesari
Flavio Julio
Constanti
filio Augusti
....



Besides, they do not, for the most part, give the distance from any place, but simply give the name of an emperor; and this is the case generally with milestones from the fourth century downwards. Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, in a paper which appears in the last volume of our Transactions,* states that it is a common thing, especially on the continent, to find milestones in groups, and that it was the custom to renew these milliary columns in the reigns of successive emperors.

The Romans attached great importance to the construction of roads. It was only by having the means of easy access to the most distant of her possessions that Rome could hold the supremacy of empire which she did for so long a period. The charge of constructing or renewing her roads was committed to her greatest men, and they not only saw that they were constructed and kept in order, but they themselves laid out large sums upon them. Julius Cæsar was at one time *Curator* of the Appian Way, and he laid out great sums of his own money upon it. During the first years of Augustus, Agrippa repaired various roads at his own expense.† The office of *Curator viæ* was always considered a high dignity, and seems eventually to have been generally assumed by the emperors themselves. In the best ages of the republic and of the empire, the inspectors of the ways sought to benefit the state by making and maintaining its roads; in the decline of the empire, they sought to get benefit to themselves out of the roads. When each claimant of the purple had to assert his rights in the face of many rivals, the assuming the charge of the roads throughout the world was one mode of gazetting his pretensions. Hence the milestones seem to have been renewed as regularly as emperor after emperor met the usual fate of such functionaries, assassination, in the latter days of the empire.

In concluding this paper, may I express the hope that ere long I may have the privilege of bringing other milliaries before the notice of this Society, which, as yet, lie under the sod.

* *Archæologia Aeliana*, X. 130.

† Article *VIAE*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

XI.—UNDE DERIVATUR CORSTOPITUM ?

BY DENNIS EMBLETON, M.D., F.R.C.P., &c., IN A LETTER TO
THE SECRETARIES.

[Read on the 27th May, 1885.]

GENTLEMEN,—I am no antiquary, but take a good deal of interest in all that can throw light upon the obscurity of the past of this our district. I beg to ask you if the following communication may be of interest to your Society, in elucidation of the above query ?

In reading lately a little book entitled *La Bretagne*, by M. Émile Souvestre (Paris, 1867 ; Collection Lévy)—M. Souvestre is himself a Breton, and an acknowledged authority on the subject of Brittany and the Bretons—I came upon the passage which I here quote :—
“L'époque de sa fondation (de Kemper ou Quimper) est inconnu ; cependant, quelques antiquaires ont cru qu'elle était la continuation de Corisopitum, la capitale des Corisopites, ou les Romains avaient fondé un grand établissement militaire.”

Reading this passage a second time, it struck me forcibly that the name *Corisopitum*, of a place in Armorica, looked and sounded to my Northern eyes and ears wonderfully like *Corstopilum*, the Roman name for the station at Corbridge, in Northumberland, at which place also there existed a large Roman military establishment ; and then, reflecting that the defenders of the Roman Wall were for the most part auxiliaries drawn from Gaul as well as from other regions of Europe, not to mention Asia and Africa, I was prompted to hazard the following conjectures, namely—

1. That among the garrisons *per lineam valli*, and their supports, there might have been a garrison from Armorica.
2. That such garrison might, perhaps, have been mainly composed of a detachment of fighting men drafted from Corisopitum to Britain.
3. That these men might have given the name of their natal place to the station to which they had been transported.
4. That, in the course of time, the name Corisopitum had been roughened into Corstopitum.

I wish now to try and show that these conjectures are not quite devoid of probability.

Not only were there Roman remains in abundance at Corisopitum, for M. Souvestre informs us that "un des faubourgs de Kemper, celui de Locmaria, est encore jonché de débris de briques et de poterie romaine," but Dr. Bruce, at page 339 of his great work *The Roman Wall*, tells us that "the site of this ancient city (Corstopitum) has been long under cultivation, but coins and fragments of pottery (Roman) are still frequently turned up by the plough."

Further, M. Souvestre goes on to say, "tout récemment on a découvert, non loin de là, au château de Poulquinant, des médailles de Marc Aurèle." And Dr. Bruce adds to his previous notice "that a broken slab is built into the front wall of a house at the east end of Corbridge, the inscription on which reads, Imperato[ri] M. Aurelio An[tonino]."

Both Corisopitum and Corstopitum then, were great Roman military towns in the time of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and his name occurs in or near to the ruins of both.

Before the time of the Romans in Armorica, there was a town on, or close to, the site of Corisopitum, called Kemper. This is an Armorican Celtic word, as M. Souvestre informs us, "compounded of *Kem* = with, and *per* or *ber*, the root of the verb *bera* = to flow, the town being situated at the confluence of the rivers Odet and Stheir." In Welsh, *cen* also means with.

After the Roman yoke was broken from off the neck of Armorica, which was about the date A.D. 375, the Roman name Corisopitum was dropped, and the old Celtic name Kemper resumed, the absurd and misleading modern French name, as M. Souvestre says, being Quimper.

When the Roman military establishment was founded at Kemper, and received the appellation of Corisopitum, there is no clear evidence to show, but it could not have been until long after Caesar's time, nor until the Romans had overrun and subjugated the whole of Armorica.

The date of the founding of Corstopitum is also quite uncertain; it might have been, and almost certainly was, an important road station on Watling Street before the Wall was thought of, on account of the favourable position of the place. It may have been founded by Agricola,

The names Corisopitum and Corstopitum are evidently variants one of the other, but their meaning has not been explained. That "painful" antiquary, William Burton, Batchelor of Lawes, in his *Commentary on Antoninus His Itinerary, &c.*, clxv., p. 42, says:—"The first syllable of the name may be for *curia*; but what the last syllables signifie I am to learne, and, which is worse, have none to teach me."

Nothing in *The Roman Wall* of Dr. Bruce to indicate the meaning of Corstopitum is to be seen, whilst Horsley, Hodgson, and other antiquaries are equally silent on this head.*

When such authorities fail, how can an inexperienced individual hope to succeed?

Very many ancient place-names, however, as is well known, have meanings, if these can be ferreted out; so, striving to divine and unearth the meaning of Corstopitum, I have come to the conclusion that this is a name compounded of a Celtic and a Latin word. Thus Corisopitum, or Corstopitum, appears, on analysis, to be made up of *corsen* or *korsek* (Armoric), *cors* (Welsh and Cornish)=moor, bog, fen, and *oppidum* or *opitum* (Latin), a town. So Corisopitum is equivalent to *cors-opidum*, but a Roman tongue would call it *Coris-opidum*, and this would easily, to careless ears and mouths, become Corisopitum.

Corstopitum, the British form of the word, preserves the unbroken Celtic *cors*, and has got inserted, for some possibly local northern necessity of speech, the letter *t* between *cors* and *opitum*, making Corstopitum, thus distorting the half Celtic, half Latin word, and obscuring for posterity the etymology of the ancient appellation of our Corbridge.

* In Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 397, is the following note:—"Corstopitum, in the edition of H. Surita (as Camden, p. 1,085 informs us) is Corstopilum."

In Dr. Gale's MSS. it was Corisopito, and Corisopito in another. The learned doctor supposes the name to be taken from the Corisopitenses in Gaul. For he says, p. 9, *Coriosopitum civitas erat in Gallia Lugdunense tertia, quæ et scribitur Corisopitum*. Camden observes that Corbridge is called *Corobridge* by Hoveden, and *Cure* by Huntingdon, which may seem to favour its being the *κῠρία* or *κορία* mentioned by Ptolemy. But it is very possible that all these names have arisen from the first syllable in the antient one of Corstopitum, or it may be from a supposition that Corstopitum was the same with Ptolemy's *Curia*. Some learned antiquaries derive the name from *Cohortis oppidum*."

I find by this note, which I saw first only on the 6th of May, that Dr. Gale has forestalled me in supposing the name Corstopitum to be taken from the Corisopitenses in *Gallia Lugdunensis tertia*, that is, in Armorica, but I nowhere find the derivation of the word. Dr. Gale's MSS. are here inaccessible to me.

It may be observed that even Horsley takes *cor* and not *cors* to be the first syllable of Corstopitum. *Cohortis oppidum* is an unlikely solution of the difficulty.

If this derivation be correct, then both Corisopitum and Corstopitum signify town of the moor, and are equivalent to Morton, or Morwick, or Fenton, or Fenwick, all well known north country names, and the Corisopiti were the people of the town of the moors or fens.

In a poem by M. Brizeux, "Les Bretons," are the following lines which may be quoted from M. Souvestre, in support of the above diagnosis of the condition of these Armorican people :—

"Rejouis-toi, Kemper, dans tes vieilles murailles !
Vois avec quelle ardeur, ô reine de Cornouailles,
Tes fils de tous les points de l'antique évêché,
Pêcheurs et montagnards, viennent à ton marché."

That the district around Kemper is hilly, moory, and wild, we may be satisfied by referring to the first page of M. Souvestre's *opuscule* above quoted. He writes :—"It is, as you go southwards from the little town of Châteaulin, disposed in ridges one above another, like the steps of some giant staircase, beyond which are plateaux, covered (in autumn) with buckwheat in flower, adorned with umbrageous eminences and heather-clad heights, from which you look down upon the tall twin spires, ivy-clad ramparts, and grey houses, half hidden among trees, of the ancient and noble capital of Armorican Cornwall—Kemper—the history of which is by turns legend, chronicle, and drama."

The Corisopiti were, doubtless, part of the Celtic tribe or clan of the Veneti, and so named by the Romans, as among them was established the military post or castellum—Corisopitum. They occupied part of the south-western coast of the Armorican promontory—the Breton Cornouaille—in the present department of Finisterre, and are located, in the maps that show the disposition of the Gaulish tribes under the Roman empire, between the Osismi on the west and the Veneti on the east. All these were mountaineers, fishermen, hardy and brave sailors.

The Veneti, so called—perhaps from the Armoric *ménéz*=a mountain, *ménésidi*=mountaineers ; *ménéz* being the equivalent of the Cornish *venedh*=a mountain, the *m* and the *v*, initial letters, being mutations, or interchangeable—are celebrated in history as having, in the time of Julius Caesar, and under his very eyes and those of his army, fought and lost a tremendous naval battle in Quiberon

Bay, off St. Gildas, with a Roman fleet under Decimus Brutus. They had 220 strong, oak-built, well-equipped vessels engaged. They were the most powerful and influential people in that part of Gaul, had auxiliaries in the combat from all the maritime tribes from the Loire to the Scheldt, and had sent for help even from Britain, with which island they had for long been in constant commercial relations. The fight occurred in A.U.C 698—B.C. 56.

The Corisopiti are not mentioned by Caesar in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, lib. iii., as one of the confederate tribes on the above occasion, for the good reason that Corisopitum had not up to that time been founded, for though P. Crassus had once before defeated these maritime tribes on land, the province of Armorica had not been completely occupied *more Romano*. But Corisopitum was afterwards founded among the Veneti, to keep them in awe of the Roman power, and then the people around took the name of Corisopiti.*

On the subject of the extracts below I would observe that, if the Veneti of the Adriatic came at that early period from the East, namely, from Asia Minor, and settled on the Euganean Hills, and there is nothing to prove the fallacy of this tradition, and they were, as we are told, a numerous, seafaring, enterprising people, and feared by their neighbours, it would most likely be that the Baltic Venedi, now represented by the Wends or Wanderers, were an offshoot from the Adriatic Veneti, and that the Armoric Veneti were in the same case. Some maintain that the migration has on the contrary been from the north to the west and south.

The Armoric Veneti appear to have sufficiently resembled the

* The following extracts from Hazlitt's *History of the Origin and Rise of the Republic of Venice*, London, 1858, chap. 1, are not devoid of interest in connection with the Armorican Veneti:—"Several centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, the Veneti were dwelling among the Euganean Hills (near Padua). Their dominion comprehended 1,500,000 inhabitants, who were known and feared by the neighbouring peoples as the uncorrupted scions of a hardy race"

"Their intrepidity carried them so far as to encounter, in more than one regular engagement, the victorious arms of Julius Caesar, who experienced at the hands of these bold and adroit mariners, fully as determined a resistance as had been offered by the Aedui and Helveti."

Page 4.—"A few coincidences seem to favour a supposition that the Veneti of the Adriatic and the Venedi of the Baltic were originally, though, as it is admitted, at a very remote period, one and the same people."

Page 5.—"Again, there are some ethnologists who maintain that this people came from Vannes, a town in Armorica Gallica. . . . Most probably the Veneti came from Mysia, now Anatolia."

Pages 1 and 2.—"The produce of the salt pits and fisheries, on which the Veneti mainly subsisted, also formed the germ of an extensive commerce with Britain and the adjacent islands."

Adriatic Veneti in pursuits, in enterprise, in bravery, and in wide spread influence, to convince any one that they were people of the same stock with them. Both were mountaineers, fishers, sailors, and traders; both were hardy, brave, industrious, and lovers of liberty; both had numerous and well-manned stout ships, and traded with distant as well as nearer countries, and doubtless with each other; and, what is curious and interesting is, that they both had commerce with the British islands, and, possibly, had penetrated the Phœnician mystery of the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands. Both had powerful influence over their neighbours; and both had fought bloody battles, by sea and land, with the Roman power under Julius Caesar.

It is presumed that the capital of each was called Venice. Venetia on the Adriatic was founded by the Veneti and their friends, who were fleeing to the sea-side marshes and lagoons from the face of the northern barbarians.

The Armoric capital would surely have been built by the Armoric Veneti, perhaps aided by the mother city. Its name is now Vannes, pronounced in modern French, Vann; but a Celt would make two syllables of it, and call it Vannés. Now, we have only to replace the *a* by an *e*, and we have then Vennés, which, in pronunciation, is virtually the same as Venice. Many an Irish Celt would call Venice Vannis.

Then, again, if the words Veneti, Venedi, and Venice are from *ménéz* or *venedh*, a mountain, in Celtic language—in German Venice is called Venédig—most likely these Veneti were once a nation or powerful tribe of Celtic mountaineers, who had migrated from the East to the head of the Adriatic, and, in the course of time, sent off colonies by sea to Armorica and to the shores of the Baltic; and it ought not to surprise us at hearing of Celts coming from Asia, for they came originally thence, and, moreover, it is known that Galatia was once peopled by western Celts or Gauls, though this is disputed, and Galatia is in the modern Turkish province of Anadoli or Anatolia.

If the Corisopiti ever were deported to Britain, it was at a much later date than that of the famous sea-fight, and probably about the time when Hadrian came to this island, for he had made extensive preparations for his Britannic expedition, and left his rear everywhere in quietude and security.

The 2nd and the 20th Legions were already here, and he brought over with him the *victrix*, the *pia*, the *fidelis*, *legio sexta*. Vexillations,

each 1,000 strong, from each of five other legions were sent over to him from Gaul by his legates there; moreover, of auxiliaries he had six alae and twenty-one cohorts.

In the Malpas Diploma mention occurs of the 2nd Ala of Gauls, styled Sebosiana, or Ebosiana, as being in Britain in the time of Trajan; but none of that nation are named in the Sydenham Diploma, which is also of Trajan's time, and none in the Rivington Diploma in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 124, that is, about two years after Hadrian's departure from the island. There are, however, it should be remarked, gaps in those lists of names.

On Dr. Bruce's map in his *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, showing the localities whence it is believed that forces were drawn for building and battling in the mural districts of Britain, the following corps are placed in the southern parts of Armorica, namely:—

The 2nd Cohort of Gauls.

The 4th Cohort of Gauls, stationed in Britain at Vindolana, and in Cumberland at Beck and Walton Houses; and the Ala Sebosiana placed at Hunnum, about a mile or so above Corstopitum.

Also, the following are located on the northern coast of Armorica, and on a part of that of Normandy:—

The 4th Cohort of Brittoni.

Besides these, it has been ascertained that the 2nd and 4th Cohorts of Gaulish Equites were stationed at Risingham and at Penrith; and the 5th Cohort of Gauls at South Shields and at Cramond in Scotland.

The 2nd and 6th Legions were at Corstopitum, as inscriptions indicate.

We can, therefore, easily believe that the Corisopiti were either incorporated with some of the above numerous Cohorts of Gauls, or were sent over as auxiliaries to the legions; and that they must have been a considerable and important body of men, these Armoric Venetians, to have imposed an Armoric name on a British station under Roman rule.

It is matter for curious reflection that these Corisopito-Venetians, the allies of the Britons against the Romans in Caesar's time, should have been transported in Hadrian's time to the banks of the Tina, to assist in the defence of the land of their old commercial friends.

Hadrian's Wall was commenced in A.D. 120, or soon after the arrival of that great road, bridge and wall builder in Britain; and the

muris, which he had planned and seen in part erected during his two years' stay, was continued to its completion, for seven or eight years more, by his legate, Aulus Platorius Nepos, an eminent commander, who does not seem to have got as much credit among the moderns as he deserves, for the great work which he accomplished.

The wall would be finished in A.D. 130, or thereabouts.

In the *Itinerary* Corstopitum is named as the first station on the great Roman road leading to the south from Bremenium.

That road existed before the Wall was built, and was perhaps the work of Agricola, in about the year A.D. 80. It would necessarily receive an accession of strength and importance at the time when, and at the part where, it was crossed by the Wall—the station on the road and those on the Wall would mutually aid and support each other.

At this great and doubly protected quadrivium—for there was a road from east to west along the south side of the Wall, as well as one from south to north along Watling Street, or whatever it was called by the Romans—and down the sloping land to the river Tyne, it is easy to imagine that a large and much mixed population would in those days congregate; and here it may have been that the Armoric exiles were located, when they were imported to assist in building and defending the mural barrier, and where they left the name of their Armoric home.

In the *Notitia*, compiled about A.D. 403, the name Corstopitum does not occur, whilst that of Hunnum does, the former being a road station, the latter a Wall station.

The transportation of the Venetian Corisopiti, granting that they were transported, could hardly have been accomplished until Armorica had been entirely subdued by the Romans. Then those conquerors, following their traditional custom, had found it both convenient and politic to transfer a body of warlike, turbulent, liberty-loving seafarers, fishermen and mountaineers, from their homes to a distant part of Britain, where their energies, as friendly auxiliaries, might be made to render signal service to the SPQR in defence of the great Wall, where also their bellicose proclivities might, at the same time, be indulged, instead of their remaining in Armorica a continual source of disaffection and revolt, and a waste of military power.

The Corisopiti, on their arrival on the banks of the Tyne—possibly by water, as Hadrian, as well as Agricola, had a fleet,—would pro-

bably find that they understood, or could easily learn, the form of Celtic language in use here at that time; and this might in some degree help to reconcile them to their new quarters, which would be still less repugnant to their minds when they found them pitched in a broad, pleasant, sheltered valley, bounded on the north by a ridge of moory hills, and on the south by a lively river, with moors beyond, all which might put them in mind of their own moors, or *ménéz*, and their own streams, the Odet and the Stheir.

The name Corstopitum would continue to designate the place, now Corchester and Corbridge, until the coming of the heathen Anglo-Saxons, unless the northern barbarians had previously abolished it. There is nothing to show that the place had ever been called Kemper—a name which, by the Romans, would have been suppressed.

The various modern names of Corstopitum, such as Corcester, Corchester, Corbow, Corbrugh, Corabrig, Corebrigia, Corobridge, Corbridge, Colchester, Colcester, Colbrigge, Colburgh, Colebruge, &c., have been formed, it would appear, from a misapprehension or ignorance of the etymology of its Latin name, and of the Celtic language, which had long disappeared from the district. Even the little burn on the west of Corstopitum has got more than one wrong name, being called the *Cor* and the *Corve*.

Leland, in his *Itinerary*, Vol. V., 3rd edition, 1769, writing about Corbridge, says:—"Ther be evident tokens yet seene where the olde Bridg was, and therabout cummith downe a praty Broke on the same side that that the Toun is on, and hard by it and goit into Tine.

"I thing verely that this Broke is caulled *Corve*, though the Name be not welle knowen there, and that the Toun berith the Name of it.

"By this Broke, as emong the Ruines of the olde Toun, is a place caullid Colecester, wher hath bene a Forteres or Castelle. The peple ther say that ther dwelled yn it one Yotun,* whom they fable to have been a Gygant."†

* Yotun: name of the ancient deities of Scandinavia—the Jotnar, who preceded Odin and his hierarchy, and with their worshippers were expelled by Odin, Thor and Balder, &c., and their devotees, and took refuge in Iotunheim and Utgard, in Finnland, near the White Sea. This name and fable in connection could only have originated during the dominion of the Northmen, and had been traditionally handed down to Leland's time.

† Gygant, from the Latin *gigas*, *gigantis*, Greek *γίγας*, *γίγαντος*, Anglo-Saxon *gigant*—a gigantic person, a giant. In the Newcastle dialect the adjective is formed not from the classical *gigas*, but from the English *giant*, as a "*giantic* chep or fellah."

When the Angles, Saxons and others had penetrated to the line of the Wall, they would find, as in other parts of Britain, many of the Roman place-names strange and ill-suited to their organs of speech and temper, and would, therefore, either supplant them by designations of their own, or compromise the matter by coining a composite name, as the Romans had done before them, at Kemper and elsewhere.

One can imagine a band of these rude warriors inquiring of the occupiers of the place in question its name, and on learning it to be Corstopitum, bursting into a loud hoarse laugh at the absurdity to them of the appellation.

The name was too long, and meant nothing to them; so they contented themselves with what appeared to be the first syllable of the Roman name, leaving out the *s*, which in Celtic formed the last letter of the word *cors*, and suffixed to *cor*, their own word for bridge—the Roman bridge standing there as a most important and useful object; and thus with *brycg*, *bricg* or *bryc*, and *cor*, they made a new name for Corstopitum—viz., *Corbryc* or *Corbrigg*, a shorter and to them an easier and more intelligible one,* and which is still popular by Tyne-side, notwithstanding that it is pronounced elsewhere, and written, Corbridge.

If the above conjectures which I have hazarded are well founded, and have been sufficiently supported by what has been adduced, so that they may claim at least some degree of probability approaching to truth, they lead to one explanation of the names Corstopitum and Corbridge, which have long been in want of that desideratum.

In conclusion, permit me to say that if the names of all the other stations on the Roman Wall, and the races of their various garrisons and defenders, could be satisfactorily made out, additional interest and charm to those already existing would be conferred on that world-celebrated ruin of Roman greatness.—I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

DENNIS EMBLETON.

4, ELDON SQUARE,

7TH MAY, 1885.

* English people at the present day are much given to shorten words in common use; thus a perambulator is called a pram., a cabriolet a cab., an omnibus a 'bus, a public-house a pub., a platform a plat., *delirium tremens*, *D.T.*, and the Reference department of the Free Library here in Newcastle is called by some the Ref. room! Such is the laziness of the brain and the speech organs.

XII.—HENRY BOURNE, THE HISTORIAN OF NEWCASTLE.

BY THE REV. E. H. ADAMSON, M.A.

Read on the 29th July, 1885.

HENRY BOURNE, the subject of this notice, was a native of Newcastle, and, as appears by the register of St. John's Church, was baptized December 16, 1694. His parents seem to have been in a humble station. Thomas Bourne, his father, was a tailor, but lowliness of birth and poverty of circumstances did not prevent him from attaining a respectable position and rising to some degree of eminence and distinction. After the usual amount of schooling, he was apprenticed, October 9, 1709, to Barnabas Watson, a glazier at the head of the Side. Soon, however, discovering such a decided taste for literary pursuits, and such an extraordinary aptitude for acquiring and retaining knowledge, he was permitted, before completing the full term of his apprenticeship, to quit his master's employment and follow the bent of his inclination. Accordingly he returned to school, and applied himself diligently to his studies. Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School had already attained considerable celebrity, both from the learned masters who had presided over it and from the eminent men who had been educated within its walls. At this period the head master was the Reverend Edmund Lodge, of whom, however, little is known excepting that he was some time curate of St. Nicholas, and upon his retirement from the school in 1738, after having held the mastership for upwards of twenty years, was appointed curate of Whickham by the rector, the Reverend Dr. Thomlinson, who, in his MS. correspondence preserved in our Library, speaks of him in high terms of praise and commendation. It is to be regretted we have no means of ascertaining the names of any of Bourne's schoolfellows. Horsley, the famous antiquary, was about ten years his senior, and in all probability,

therefore, must have left before he entered. Through the aid of some kind friends, who appreciated his rising talent, he was transplanted from the Grammar School of Newcastle to the University of Cambridge. Who were his patrons and benefactors we do not know, but he tells us himself that the Corporation of Newcastle at that time allowed £5 per annum to every youth who went from the Grammar School to either of the Universities; and there is no reason to doubt that he profited by this wise and commendable liberality. Nor must it be overlooked that £5 in those days would be worth considerably more than the same sum in times like these, when luxuries have increased and expenses multiplied. Besides, his admission as a sizar would confer upon him certain immunities and privileges, and materially curtail the expenses of a college life. The following record of his admission is from the books of Christ's College, Cambridge, and is valuable for the information it gives respecting his birthplace, parentage, and education:—"1717, Jun. 25. Henricus Bourne, a Thoma patre oriundus, natus in Novo Castro super Tynam ibidemque a Mgro Lodge literas edoctus vigesimo secundo ætatis anno admissus est ut sizator sub cura Mgri Atherton Soc. Coll." The loss of time occasioned by his apprenticeship sufficiently accounts for the apparently late period of his entering the University. His tutor, the Reverend Thomas Atherton, then fellow of Christ's, and subsequently rector of Caufield Parva, county Essex, was also a native of Newcastle, being the son of Henry Atherton, M.D., who held the office of town's physician, and gave communion plate to the church of All Hallows. Dr. Atherton was the author of a work—now very rare—entitled *The Christian Physician*. Thomas Atherton had been himself educated at the Grammar School under Mr. Lodge's predecessor, the reverend and learned Thomas Rud, who was afterwards master of the Chapter School at Durham. Doubtless, therefore, he would take an interest in Bourne, and be anxious to do him justice; but whether he distinguished himself in any way during his abode at the University cannot be ascertained. We know only that he took the degree of B.A. in 1720, and that of M.A. in 1724; but previously to the latter date he had left college and become engaged in parochial work. One of his contemporaries at College, though his junior by six years, was Mr. Granville Wheler, the only surviving son and heir of the celebrated

oriental traveller, and excellently learned and pious divine, the Rev. Sir George Wheler, prebendary of Durham, and rector of Houghton-le-Spring. This gentleman, who afterwards entered into holy orders in compliance with a wish expressed in his father's will, and inherited his good qualities as well as his estates, became prebendary of Southwell and rector of Leake, in Nottinghamshire. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and highly distinguished for his discoveries in electricity and his attainments in various branches of natural philosophy. He married the Lady Katharine Maria, daughter of Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon, and died at his seat, Otterden Place, county Kent, in 1770. With him it would seem, during their residence at Cambridge, Bourne contracted a close friendship and intimacy, which, if we consider the difference of their respective circumstances and position in life, appears rather unaccountable, unless we may be allowed to hazard the conjecture that they were chamber-fellows, occupying the same apartments—the sizar waiting upon the student, and gradually insinuating himself into the other's good opinion and affectionate regard by the meritoriousness of his conduct in that relation. Be that as it may, their friendship, however originated, continued after their separation on leaving College; and Bourne chose him for the patron of a little work on the Epistles and Gospels, published by him in 1727, as we shall see presently, and addressed to him the following dedication:—

TO GRANVILLE WHEELER, ESQ.

SIR,—The labours of study, of whatsoever kind they are, do naturally choose their proper patrons. There will be always some excelling in every sort of knowledge to whom the various parts of learning will be more justly adapted.

As, then, every part of the Common Prayer speaks the breathings of the greatest of saints, the earliest antiquity, and the soundest faith, so a treatise on any part of it will be most suitably patronised by a lover of our Church and a practiser of her doctrines, by one skilled in her offices and unshaken in her faith. I hope, therefore, you'll excuse the freedom of a dedication, since the nature of this performance calls for this protection of it.

Or whether you are considered as sprung from a great ornament of our Church, from one learned in antiquity, truly orthodox, primitive in his example, and holy in his life; or whether, as you are allied to that noble family which gives examples to the world of the earliest virtue and a lasting piety, of veneration for the Church and esteem for her clergy, of such as rejoice in doing good works to the one and deeds of hospitality to the other, your right to this treatise is not a little strengthened.

But when, together with these, I reflect on your placing me in your friendship and familiarity, and the many kind and affectionate offices you have done me, you'll easily pardon my choice, as it affords me so just a patron, and gives me an opportunity of somewhat acknowledging your many favours to, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

HENRY BOURNE.

It remains to be stated that Mr. Wheler's name occurs in the list of subscribers to Bourne's posthumous work, *The History of Newcastle*.

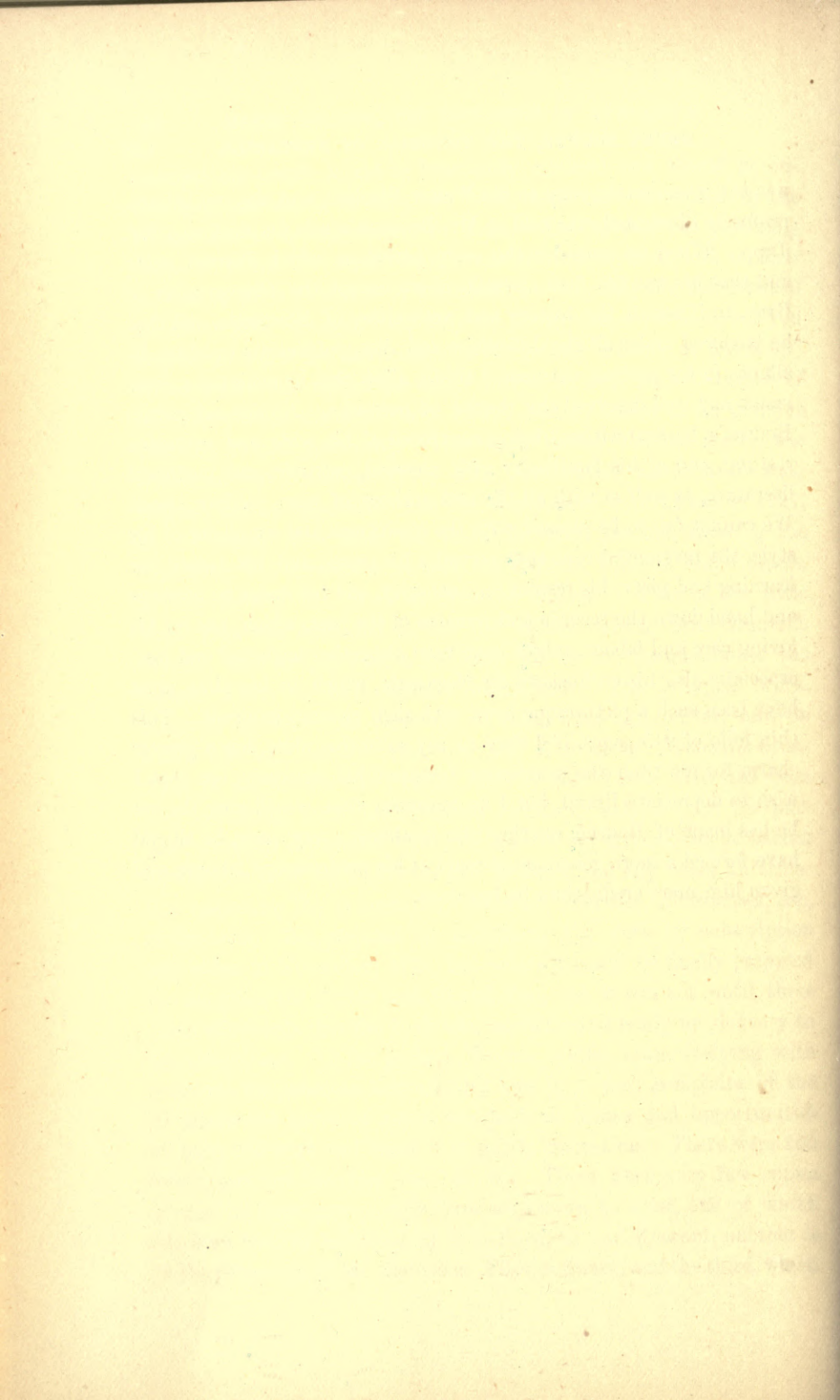
In a MS. book in the Vestry of St. Nicholas, we find it recorded on the occasion of his preaching for the first time in that church, Feb. 5th, 1720-1, that he was ordained by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Bishop of London, and well known as a zealous antiquary and editor of *Camden's Britannia*. We are unable to give the precise date of his ordination, or to state where he first exercised his ministry; but in 1722 he was licensed to the curacy of All Hallows, in his native town, in succession to the eccentric Cuthbert Ellison, at this time removed to the vicarage of Stannington, on the nomination probably of the Rev. William Bradford, the then Vicar of Newcastle, whom he survived, and of whom, in his history, he gives the following character:—"He was universally beloved, being a man of great humanity and condescension, and of an open, generous temper, and very much lamented at his death, on account of these and his many other good qualities." The parochial chapelry of All Hallows or All Saints was one of the largest cures in the kingdom, and many of the principal inhabitants had their residence within its limits. Though, so far as preaching was concerned, the curate or minister was relieved by the two lecturers whom the Corporation generously provided, yet his duties were onerous and pressing, for he was responsible for saying the morning and evening prayers, not only on Sundays and holidays, but on every day of the week; for baptising, marrying, and burying the parishioners; for visiting the sick and relieving the poor, for imparting spiritual advice and consolation to all who required either from him. And we believe that Henry Bourne faithfully and diligently fulfilled his office as a parish priest and pastor of the flock entrusted to his care and oversight. We may, I think, properly infer so much from the praise he bestows on those of his brethren who distinguished themselves in this respect, and the sympathy he manifests in speaking of their work.

In 1728 some gentlemen of the parish founded a lecture by subscription, for the instruction of the people in the rubric and liturgy of the church. This lectureship was settled upon Bourne, who delivered his course on alternate Sunday evenings, from Low Sunday or the Sunday after Easter, until the Sunday after Holy Cross, the 14th of September. He resided in Silver Street, in the immediate vicinity of the church, and there, after a lingering illness, he expired at 4 p.m., Feb. 16, 1732-3, at the early age of 37, and was buried two days afterwards.

He was twice married. At page 94 in his *History*, where he is describing the monuments in All Saints' Church, he thus alludes to the burial place of his first wife—"At the east end of this tomb of the family of the Collingwoods, under a stone with a Latin inscription on it, which formerly belonged to one Blount, lies interr'd the body of Margaret Bourne, wife of Henry Bourne, curate of this church of All Hallows. She dyed Aug. 8th, 1727, in the 30th year of her age. Δωη αυτη ο Κυριος ευρειν ελεος παρα Κυριου εν εκεινη τη ημερα." We do not know the maiden name of the lady for whom this pious wish is expressed (2 Tim. i. 18), but she had three children, one of whom, Thomas, died in infancy, the others, Henry and Eleanor, survived their father, and joined in dedicating his posthumous work to the Mayor and Corporation, but, unfortunately, we fail to find any subsequent traces of them. Bourne's second wife, whom he married May 20th, 1728, was Alice, daughter of Mr. Ellis Inchbald, whose name occurs as one of the original subscribers to the charity school set up in 1709. By this lady he had two children, Christian and Ellis, both of whom died in infancy. the mother long survived her husband, and, having found a retreat in Mrs. Davison's Hospital, died there in the year 1772. Although, as we have seen, this exemplary clergyman was almost incessantly employed in parochial work, he yet found time for indulging his literary taste and pursuing his antiquarian researches. His first essay was the little work entitled—*Antiquitates Vulgares or the Antiquities of the Common People*, which issued in 1725, as did also the other works he published, from the press of John White, the printer who came from York and started the *Courant*, newspaper, in 1711. The author had a practical object in view in the publication of it, as he wished to show which of the customs commonly prevalent

amongst the people might be innocently retained and should be encouraged, and which, on the other hand, were more honoured in the breach than in the observance of them. The volume was gracefully dedicated to the Corporate Body, whom he commends as, both in their public and private capacities, encouragers of learning and rewarders of merit. "You," he says, "not only lay the ground-work here, but you help to the top of art and science in the greater schools of learning." He expresses the obligation under which he feels himself bound, of offering to them the first fruits of his literary labour as the genuine offspring of their generosity. This work having become scarce, was re-printed by Brand in 1777, with considerable addenda to each chapter, and an appendix. His next appearance in print was in 1727, as the author of a small but useful liturgical manual, showing the "harmony and agreement between the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, as they stand in the Book of Common Prayer." This is the little work that was dedicated to his old college friend, Mr. Granville Wheler, and its publication probably led to the foundation of the lecture which we have already mentioned. The principal work, however, on which he bestowed so much care and labour, and on which his fame chiefly rests, was the *History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or the Ancient and Present State of that Town*. He had been long collecting, with indefatigable industry, materials for his purpose, when, in September, 1731, he inserted an advertisement asking for the perusal of ancient deeds and writings, and any other information respecting the monasteries, churches, charities, almshouses, &c., of the town. His proposal for publishing the work by subscription was issued in November, 1731, but before it could be finally prepared for the press, the author took ill and died, and it was not until three years afterwards that the book was announced as ready for delivery to the subscribers. In the preface, Bourne, whilst acknowledging with gratitude the generous help afforded him by a few, complains of the ill nature and malice of many, who took all means and opportunities to decry the work and lessen it in public estimation. There were 200 subscribers and the price was 10s. 6d. There were very few copies printed on large paper; only three are known to exist, one of which has been recently exhibited by Miss Boyd, in our Museum; another is in the possession of Mr. Robinson, Pilgrim Street; and the third, which

was the presentation copy to Sir Walter Blackett, and was, we believe, profusely illustrated, was sold at Mr. Brockett's sale for £50, to a Mr. Jupp. When we consider the early period at which Bourne wrote and that his was the first attempt, if we except the *Chorographia* of Gray, to illustrate the history and antiquities of Newcastle, and that he laboured under all the difficulties and disappointments to which he alludes in his preface, we must, I think, allow that he achieved a great result and well deserved the thanks of posterity. No one can peruse Bourne's *History* without being convinced of his wide and extensive reading, and of his familiarity with classical, patristic, and mediæval literature, as well as with all the best authors of more modern times. We cannot fail to be pleased with the quaintness and simplicity of his style, the reverential tone that pervades his pages, and his regard for learning and piety, his respect for antiquity, and his desire to preserve and hand down the records and remains of the past, which, but for his loving care and labour, might have been altogether neglected and lost; especially also his enthusiasm for Newcastle, which in his time must have been such a picturesque town with such pleasant environs. This thin folio of 245 pages, if I dare to say so in this place, has a greater charm for me than the ponderous tomes of his successor, not that I wish to depreciate Brand, but I do maintain that considering the use he has made of Bourne, quoting him in almost every page, he should have formed a more generous estimate of his predecessor's labours, and given him more credit than he has done.



XIII.—A FEW JOTTINGS RESPECTING SOME OF THE
EARLY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTI-
QUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

BY J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A.

[Read March 25th and August 26th, 1885.]

WHEN, at our last meeting, our genial President, the Earl of Ravensworth, was sketching, on the occasion of the opening of the Black Gate, the previous history of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, my imagination seemed to call into existence the men who had made that history, and to summon into this room the worthies whom once I used to meet here, but who, long ago, have left us. If I had been ready of speech I should then, on the conclusion of our President's address, have asked permission to have named some of them, but prudence made me forbear. On mentioning this fact to our junior Secretary, Mr. Blair, he encouraged me to bring the subject forward at this meeting. This I venture to do, though with much hesitation.

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was founded in the year 1813. Its first meeting place was Loftus's Long Room, in the lower part of Newgate Street, on the east side.

I think it may with truth be stated that ours was the earliest of all the provincial societies now existing for the promotion of the study of Archæology. It was not until the year 1843 that the British Archæological Association was formed, and I believe it was owing to the impulse given by the peripatetic meetings of this Society and its twin sister, the Royal Archæological Institute, that most of our local bodies owe their existence. That we should have started into being thirty years before most of the county societies of this country seems to me to be something to boast of, and to have been owing to the fact that John Horsley, the author of the *Britannia Romana*, had impressed the

stamp of his mind upon the educated portion of our community a hundred years previously. With such an example before us we northerners could not well resist the study of the history of our country from its earliest period.

Mr. John Bell may, I think, claim the merit of having first suggested the formation of this Society. He was brought up to the profession of his father, who, originally a bookseller, afterwards became a land surveyor, in which calling he acquired distinction by his skill and accuracy. Mr. John Bell was not a highly educated man, but he was an industrious collector of antiquarian facts, and exceedingly fond of archæological research. By the publication in 1812 of the work entitled *Rhymes of Northern Bards, being a curious collection of old and new Songs and Poems peculiar to the Counties of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland, and Durham, edited by John Bell, jun.*, he has laid the inhabitants of these northern parts under a lasting obligation. In the possession of our senior Vice-President, Mr. Clayton, is a collection of papers in six volumes, of quarto size, each volume bearing the following title, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by John Bell, Projector thereof*. The volumes consist of a miscellaneous collection of papers relating to the Society—some in manuscript, some in print; of cuttings from newspapers; of letters from various members of the Society and others, bearing upon its general business, and of circulars, together with occasional pages of narrative and criticism by the editor himself. Altogether the collection is an interesting one, but it would be greatly improved by being weeded of a good deal of irrelevant matter.

I will give a few jottings from these volumes, and first of all we will take Mr. Bell's account of the origin of the Society.

"In March, 1803, when I went to the Quayside [as a bookseller] several [coin] collectors brought me several of their collections when, after a little while, we agreed to form a [Numismatic] Society. We pledged ourselves to give our duplicates [coins], of whatever kind, to the Society to form a collection, and to contribute one shilling per month to purchase numismatical books. The meetings were held once a week in the office of Mr. John Airey, an attorney." The Society

existed but for a short time. Here is Mr. Bell's account of its close. "All went on well until Christmas that year (1803) when J. Bell went on a visit to Durham. On his return he found that they had quarrelled at a meeting or two which was held whilst he was from home, and had fixed to break it up." And broken up it was.

Mr. Bell did not despair. In due time he got seventy circulars printed, which stated that as "the Counties of Northumberland and Durham have been productive of vast fragments of antiquity—the Roman Wall, the various fields of feudal warfare, etc.," it was desirable that "a depository should be formed for the preservation of relics of antiquity, and that a society should be formed of gentlemen . . . who would contribute information for the use of younger members."

Mr. Bell addressed the greater part of these circulars to the leading gentry of the two counties. But with little success. In his narrative he goes on to say, "The answers thereto which I received were nearly all declining, several saying there was already an established society (the Literary and Philosophical) which would answer all the purposes intended." He did not, however, despair. He made one more effort; and how often is it that success attends us when we doggedly persevere in spite of the greatest discouragements! He says, "Out of the few remaining unsent circulars I addressed one to his Grace, Hugh, (Second) Duke of Northumberland, who immediately replied, offering to assist the project all in his power." This gave him great encouragement, and rightly, as the event proved. Mr. Bell proceeds, "And the following post or two brought letters from David William Smith, Esq.* (afterwards a Baronet), and others more or less connected with his Grace (who had been previously sent to and declined), requesting to be considered as members from the first, on which Mr. John Adamson, attorney, joined me, and a meeting held from which another was called, when my project went forward: in arranging which, amongst other books necessary for carrying on the Society, I proposed a guarded book to preserve the letters and communications, in which I unfortunately inserted all the replies I had received to my circular, but very many of which, in the course of time, *ceased to exist!*" A copy of this circular is preserved in Mr. Bell's Collections.

* Sir David Smith was a Commissioner for the management of the estates of the Duke of Northumberland.

The preliminary meeting which Mr. Bell refers to in this paragraph, and which resulted in the formation of the Society, took place in Mr. Adamson's office. Mr. Bell continued to be for many years a useful and active officer of the Society. At first he was its Treasurer, but eventually, in consequence of some disarrangement of his private affairs, he resigned the office, which was assumed by Mr. Adamson, in addition to the other office which he held, that of Secretary, conjointly with the Rev. John Hodgson, the Historian. Mr. Bell on relinquishing the Treasurership became Librarian to the Society, on a small salary; and in virtue of this office he attended at the rooms of the Society every Wednesday evening to give out books to applicants.

I think I may say that for well nigh forty years Mr. Bell and Mr. Adamson were the backbone of the Society. A number of able men lent it strength from time to time, but most of these, through death or removal, were members for only short periods.

In a passage which I have quoted from Mr. Bell's account of the Society he says, "Mr. John Adamson, attorney, joined me."

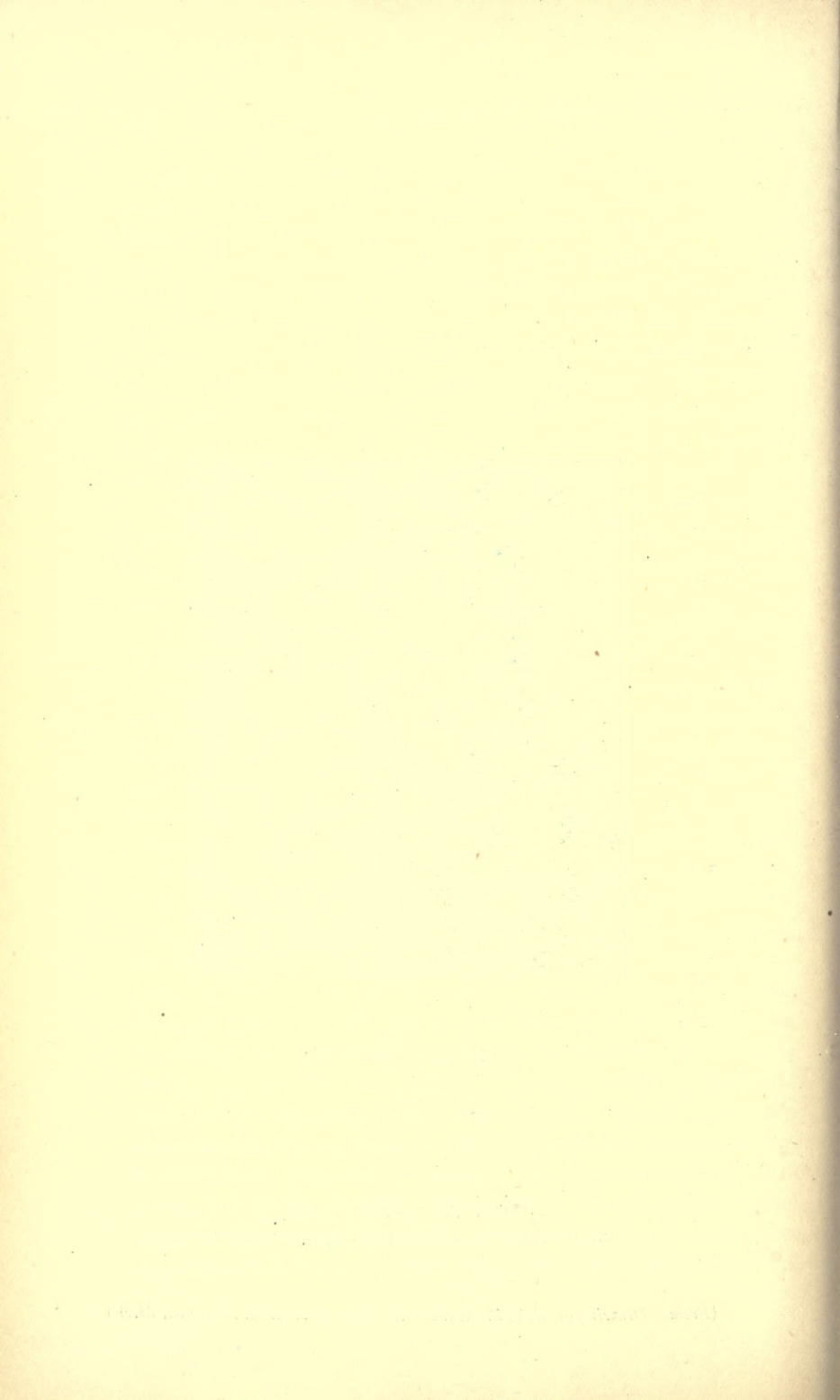
Mr. Adamson was originally intended for commercial pursuits, and at an early age was sent to Lisbon, where an elder brother was established in business. Here his strong attachment to literary pursuits manifested itself, and he became familiar with the classical writers of Portugal. On his return to England he continued his Portuguese studies, and in addition to other smaller publications which, from time to time, he issued, gave to the world *The Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Camoens*, the Portuguese poet. This work was very favourably reviewed by Southey in *The Quarterly*. On coming home, Mr. Adamson abandoned commerce and became an attorney-at-law. Early in life he obtained the office of Under-Sheriff of Newcastle, which he held until the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, when the office became subject to appointment by the Sheriff who was annually elected. In 1825 he was elected a Secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society, an office which he held till his death. Mr. Adamson was also Secretary to the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, and filled other important situations. The department of antiquities in which he chiefly excelled was Numismatics. He contributed several papers to the Antiquarian Societies of London and Newcastle, the most important of which was an account of the discovery at Hexham, in 1832,



John Adamson

JOHN ADAMSON, ESQ.,
ONE OF THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF THE SOCIETY.

(From a Drawing by Mole, in the possession of the Rev. G. H. Adamson, M.A.)



of a large number of Saxon coins called Stycas. This paper was published in the transactions of both Societies, illustrated by thirty-two quarto plates. Mr. Adamson died, after a short illness, on September 28th, 1855, aged 68 years. At the monthly meeting of this Society, held on October 3rd, 1855, Dr. Charlton, Mr. Adamson's colleague in the Secretaryship, is reported to have commenced the business with the following statement:—"He would now read the minutes of the last meeting, which were in the handwriting of his lamented colleague, the late Mr. Adamson, whose loss they must all regret. He had been connected with the Society throughout its whole existence, in good times and in bad, and no member rejoiced more than Mr. Adamson in its recent prosperity, even when his own health was failing. He had ever experienced from him the greatest kindness, and now that he was gone he knew not how he could discharge alone the duties of his office."

We now leave for a season Mr. Bell and Mr. Adamson, but I may have occasion to refer to them again afterwards.

The Society, as I have said, met first in Loftus's Long Room. This was better adapted for large public meetings than for the conferences of learned Societies, and our Antiquaries very soon, by permission of the Literary and Philosophical Society, met in one of their rooms in Ridley Court, in the Groat Market. After this, attracted perhaps by the appropriateness of the locality, they met, by permission of the Corporation, in the Old Castle. I believe the King's Chamber was the room in which they assembled. But the permission of the Corporation was not the only one that was required. In looking over Mr. Bell's collection I find a copy of a document which reads somewhat strangely in these modern times. It is a licence from His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for this Society to meet in the Castle. This curious piece of antiquity reads as follows:—

"We, two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne assembled at a Special Session held at the Guildhall of the said town and county, this Second day of May, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventeen, for the purposes of granting Licences to open Houses, Rooms, or other buildings for the purposes mentioned in an Act of Parliament, passed in the Fifty-seventh year of His present Majesty's reign, intituled 'an Act for the more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies,' do hereby, by virtue and in pursuance of the said Act grant licence to the Rev. John Hodgson and John Adamson, gentlemen, both of Newcastle aforesaid, to open a certain part of the ancient Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne aforesaid, and

situate there, for the purpose of holding debates or conversations concerning and making inquiry into antiquities in general, but more especially concerning and into antiquities of the North of England and the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, such licence to continue in force for one whole year and no longer. Given under our hands and seals the day and year above written.

H. CRAMLINGTON.

GEO. FORSTER.

I am not aware that a second licence was ever afterwards sought or obtained. However, their lodgings in the Castle during the cold months of winter were found to be so uncomfortable that notwithstanding the fitting nature of the site they were obliged to forsake them. For a time they availed themselves of Mr. Adamson's offer to hold their Monthly Meetings in his office in Westgate Street. They did so for the first time on the 5th November, 1817. Until the Society got established quarters of its own the Housteads altars and the headless figures of the *Dee Matres* belonging to the Society were ranged round the grass-plot in Mr. Adamson's Garden, behind his house. They next obtained a chamber in Farrington's Yard, Bigg Market. They met there for the first time on the 7th July, 1819. It was here, whilst I was yet a boy, that I first of all came into the solemn presence of the Antiquaries of Newcastle. My father, being a member of the Society, thought proper to take me with him on one occasion. If on that night I had thought that an antiquarian pilgrimage of something like half-a-century was before me I should, I have no doubt, have brought away with me a vivid reminiscence of all that was said and done, and that the portraiture of all the *literati* present would have been stamped upon the tablet of my memory. As it was I remember nothing of what was said or done, and I know not who was present.

Doubtless the Rev. John Hodgson was there. He was one of the chief promoters of the Society at this early period. He was then Incumbent of Jarrow, with Heworth, and hence within easy distance of Newcastle. He had previously been Curate at Lanchester and had carefully studied the Roman camp there. He published a small book of poetry, the chief piece in which is *LONGOVICUM, a Vision*. The notes to this poem contain much valuable antiquarian information. In addition to other works he also published in 1812 a small guide called *The Picture of Newcastle*, in which, at its close, he gives an interesting



yours my dr. hr
wth John Hodgson



history of the Roman Wall. For a number of years he was the most prominent figure in the Antiquarian Society. At its second monthly meeting he read an elaborate paper on *The Study of Antiquities*, a paper which all of us might now read with advantage. It was the first paper printed in the Transactions of the Society. His subsequent contributions were very numerous and very valuable. Upwards of twenty are printed in the *Archæologia Eliana*. I need not mention the *History of Northumberland*, by which he is best known in the world of literature. The last published volume, as we are all aware, contains an elaborate and learned account of the Roman Wall. In it he lucidly establishes the fact which Stukely and others before him had surmised, that both the *Vallum* and the *Murus* were the work of Hadrian. It is curious to notice how the commercial value of the *History* has increased as time has gone on. I bought my copy of Mr. Charnley, the principal bookseller in Newcastle in his day, for £9. I do not suppose you can purchase a copy now for much under £50.

Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Adamson were the first Secretaries of the Society. In 1823 Mr. Hodgson became Vicar of Kirkwhelpington, and being unable, on account of the distance, to attend the monthly meetings of the Society he resigned his office, and was elected Vice-President. It was my misfortune not to have become personally acquainted with Mr. Hodgson, of whose kindness all who did know him speak most highly.

The first patron of the Society was Hugh, the second Duke of Northumberland, whose influence, as we have seen, was so potent for good in the formation of the Society, and one of the first presentations made to it was a string of gold beads, derived from an ancient British cairn on one of his farms. At his death the third Duke accepted of the office, and on his demise, Algernon, the fourth Duke, became patron. He was much attached to this Society. He always spoke of it as *our* Society. I need not say how much he did to elucidate the early history of the county, the name of which he bore; and here I may mention a little anecdote bearing on his name. Mr. Albert Way and he were sitting together. The Duke was signing a number of documents of a business character; all at once, looking up, he said to Mr. Way, "What a happy man you are." Mr. Way was somewhat surprised at his being felicitated in such a way by a person of such wealth and

renown as the Duke of Northumberland, and asked for an explanation. "You see," said the Duke, "three letters spell your name—W, A, Y; but here have I to go labouring on, N, O, R, T, H, U, M, B, E, R, L, A, N, D before I can effect my signature. You are a happy man." Amongst other noble works which owe their existence to his wise liberality, I may mention the Surveys of the Watling Street and the Wall. It was at his suggestion that the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* was undertaken, and he largely contributed to its cost. His excavation of the Camp of BREMENIUM is recorded in the Transactions of the Archæological Institute. And here I may refer to the earnest desire which he entertained to heal the breach which had occurred in the Archæological Association, which, shortly after its birth, was broken up into two societies—the Association and the Institute. When about to begin his excavations at BREMENIUM, the High Rochester of the present day, he asked the President of the Society of Antiquaries to send down to him at Alnwick some skilled men to advise with him respecting his mode of proceeding with the excavation. His object was to invite to his Castle the leaders of the two Societies, wisely thinking that if he got their legs under his mahogany he would be able to bring them to be of one mind. I do not know how it was, but the desirable scheme fell through. Probably his design was perceived, and the feud at that time was too hot to allow the parties to approach one another.* When our Society obtained the full possession of the Castle in 1848, and had succeeded in putting it into a state of complete repair, it was resolved to celebrate the event by holding a banquet in it. This took place on the 3rd August of that year. Not less than eighty-four persons sat down at the tables in the great hall. The Duke presided with his usual grace and tact. The banners of the chieftains who, in ancient days, had fought in the Border-land, floated over our heads, and the music of the Northumberland pipes gave forth the battle tunes and the gathering airs of other times. When the Archæological Institute met in Newcastle in 1852, the Duke, though at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, came down to the north, and besides attending the meetings in Newcastle, entertained the Society and its friends right royally at Alnwick.

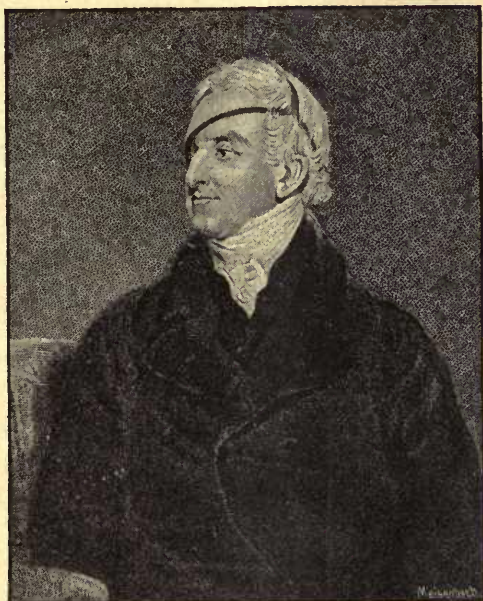
* Mr. C. Roach Smith, who was a member of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries at this time, gives an account of this matter in his *Retrospections*, Vol. I., p. 81.



Yours very sincerely
Algernon

ALGERNON, 4TH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
PATRON OF THE SOCIETY.

(From a miniature by SIR W. ROSS, in the possession of his widow).



John E. Swinburne

SIR JOHN EDWARD SWINBURNE, BART.,
THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

*(From the Painting in the possession of the Literary and Philosophical Society of
Newcastle-upon-Tyne).*



Handwritten signature or name, possibly "John F. Johnson", written in a cursive script.

Faint, illegible text or markings at the bottom of the page, possibly a date or address.

Sir John Edward Swinburne, Bart., of Capheaton, was the first President of the Society, and he continued to hold that office until his death. Sir John was an encourager of antiquaries, and did much, I believe, to cheer and assist the Rev. John Hodgson. He very nearly reached the age of one hundred years. The Society were watching for the event, and were prepared to go out in a considerable body to Capheaton on the birthday to congratulate their President upon becoming a true antiquary—a very antiquity himself. Unhappily before the event he fell and broke the *tendo Achillis* of one leg, and being, in consequence, unable to take his usual exercise, he pined and died about three months before attaining the requisite age. It is worthy of remark that the name of an ancestor of Sir John's, "The Honourable Sir John Swinburne, Bart.," occurs among the subscribers to Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*.

Amongst other eminent men of the early era must be reckoned Mr. Thomas Hodgson, the editor of the *Newcastle Chronicle*. He had, I have understood, a remarkable memory. It is said that without taking a single note he could report a speech verbatim; and that he actually did so report some of the election speeches of Earl Grey, the father of the present. He devoted himself to the study of Roman antiquities, and attained great cleverness in the elucidation of inscriptions. He left three MS. volumes containing disquisitions upon the Roman inscriptions of the north; and I have heard it stated that he contemplated a new edition of *The Britannia Romana*.

Amongst the names of those who attended the very first meeting of the Society is that of Mr. Nathaniel Clayton, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the father of our vice-president, Mr. John Clayton, who has done so much by pen and spade to elucidate the early history of our country, and who, until arthritic pains benumbed his limbs, attended our meetings so regularly, always cheering us by his presence.

At this first meeting, moreover, our early fathers showed their loyalty to the fair sex. The following is the last minute of that day's proceedings: "Mrs. Atkinson, of Temple Sowerby [the grandmother of our Mr. Clayton], was admitted an honorary member of the Society. —Signed on behalf of the meeting, John Carr." Those of us who have seen her library, and her collection of coins, as well as of

objects of natural history, all of which are preserved at Chesters, will not wonder that her merits as an antiquary obtained this mark of distinction.

Sir Charles Miles Lambert Monck, Bart., M.P., was present at the first meeting of our Society, and he was one of our first vice-presidents. The only reminiscence that I have of him was this : he attended the great banquet held in the Old Castle in 1848, but having left his hat, great coat, and umbrella in the lower dungeons, where we assembled before dinner, he descended to these lower chambers in the dark, after the banquet, and losing his way, was nearly detained in them all night. It is believed that Sir Charles Monck was the only person who was in the habit of quoting Greek in the House of Commons, to the astonishment, though not, probably, to the edification of the members.

The name of John Trotter Brockett occurs amongst those who assembled in Loftus's Long Room on the 23rd January, 1813, for the formation of this Society, and it continues upon its books until his death in 1842. He was a solicitor in good practice, but not being of a robust constitution his leisure hours were chiefly spent in retirement, and in the diligent cultivation of his favourite studies, literary and antiquarian. He was a skilful numismatist, and was successful in collecting a large number of rare and valuable books. His coins, like his books, were remarkable not only for their number but their perfect condition. He had a magnificent series of Roman gold coins, from the time of Julius Cæsar down to the very close of the Empire. I lived for two years next door to him in Albion Street, but to my great regret now I never saw either his coins or his books ; but my attention had not then been directed to the study of Archæology. Dr. Dibden, the author of the *Bibliographical Decameron*, however, visited him, and this is what he says of him—"In fact the zeal, activity, and anxiety of my friend, in all matters relating to the literary, scientific, and antiquarian welfare of his native town, have no limits, and know no diminution. They rise up and lie down with him. One thing particularly struck me in his closely-wedged, miscellaneous collection, the choice and nicety of each article:—A *golden Nero*, or a first *Walton's Angler*, was as well-nigh perfect as it might be ; and his *Horsley* was only equalled by his *Hock*." Again, the bibliographer



Bridget Atkinson

MRS. ATKINSON,
THE FIRST HONORARY MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

From a Miniature in the possession of her Grandson, J. Clayton, Esq., F.S.A., Senior Vice-President.)



Ever yours sincerely
John Clayton



Truly yours
John Trotter Prockitt

writes :—"Mr. Brockett is justly proud of his *Horsley*. He opened it with evident satisfaction. They are all at Newcastle necessarily *Horsley*-mad. I suffered him to enjoy his short-lived triumph. His copy was upon small paper, of most enviable size and condition. 'Were you ever at Belvoir Castle?' observed I. 'Never,' replied he. 'Then take care never to visit it; for *there* is a copy upon large paper such as eyes never beheld. Having seen and caressed it, you will throw this into the Tyne.' 'I shall take care to avoid Belvoir Castle,' was my friend's reply."

Mr. Brockett has bequeathed to posterity one important antiquarian work, his *Glossary of North Country Words*. This book is not one of mere temporary value. The speech of a people is indicative of their character. The simple and expressive words which are fast passing away from us, bespeak the blunt but manly habits of our ancestors. Even the local pronunciation of the various districts of the country is instructive. And here I may be permitted to introduce a little anecdote. Mr. Alderman George Forster, whom I remember in my early youth, had the burr like most of his fellow-townsmen. On a visit to London he put up at what is now Wood's Hotel, Furnival's Inn. Here he scraped acquaintance with a Dane. This gentleman one day said to the Alderman, "How long hab you been in dis contree?" He, thinking that he meant how long he had been in London, replied, "Three weeks." "Dearee me," said the Dane, "and you do speake de langidge nearly as well as I do who have been here tree monts." Perhaps we got our burr from Denmark. Railways are, however, destroying all our local peculiarities.

In our library are two manuscript volumes in folio, entitled *Annals and Historical Events relating to Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. They are from the pen of Mr. Brockett, and are very carefully compiled, and will prove of great value to any one who shall undertake to write a History of Newcastle. The penmanship of the volumes is exceedingly neat and clear.

Mr. Brockett's eldest son was a youth of singularly brilliant parts. Like his father he had a taste for antiquarian pursuits, and had the ordinary span of life been given him he would have greatly distinguished himself. He was a member of our Society for little more than a year, death cutting him off at an early age. His father

sustained the shock with much fortitude, but it is believed to have been the remote cause of his own death, which occurred in October, 1842, when he was only in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, of Wallington, was one of our early members, and he continued with us to the last. He did not often attend our meetings, but he contributed to our Transactions many important inedited MSS., and laid us under great obligations by giving us several important Roman Sculptures and inscriptions, and presenting to our Library on various occasions many valuable books. The last present which he made us, as far as I recollect, was the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*; and about forty volumes, all that were then published, of the *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, both of them works which are essential to every one following epigraphical pursuits. In having the panels of the grand central hall at Wallington filled with pictures representing important events in the history of Northumbria, he in a very effective and agreeable way has contributed to the advancement of archæological science.

The Rev. Anthony Hedley was another of the active spirits that animated the Institution in its earlier days. He was for some time curate of Hexham, and afterwards of St. John's Church in this town. But later in life he retired from active service and removed to Chesterholm, the VINDOLANA of the Romans, which was his property. Here he built for himself a small but ornate cottage. He excavated the station, and discovered several of those fine altars which now are safely lodged in the portico of the mansion at Chesters. He wrote a valuable paper on "The Etymology of the Names and Places in Northumberland," which appears in the first volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*. In this paper he mentions the tendency which modern improvements have to obliterate the ancient features of the country. "Within my own recollection," he says, "almost every *old* house in the dales of Rede and Tyne was what is called a *Peel* house, built for securing its inhabitants and their cattle in moss-trooping times." Mr. Hedley caught a death-chill whilst overlooking one day the excavation of a fine vessel in the station. He lies in the neighbouring churchyard of Beltingham, and when I visited his grave a Roman altar, with an obliterated inscription, lay upon it.

The Rev. William Turner, the minister of Hanover Square Chapel, was a frequent attendant at the meetings of the Society. He was a



Walter Calverley Trevelyan

most benevolent man, and had a general acquaintance with literature. He was one of the founders of the Literary and Philosophical Society. He was not a ready speaker, but he wrote shorthand well, and anything that he had written he could read quite fluently. He used, sometimes, at meetings, to scratch down in shorthand what he had occasion to say, not venturing to utter a single sentence without having done so. I remember one night when he was advertised to deliver a lecture in the Joiners' Hall, he was long in making his appearance. At last when he did come it was evident that he was in great tribulation. But what was the matter we could not find out. It was not without many a gasp and many a hiatus that he managed to let us know that he had lost, for the time being, his book of lectures, and that he could not go on without it. There is a paper by Mr. Turner in the first quarto volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*.*

Mr. William Peters, a lawyer in town, was another of the early members. If I remember rightly he was the last man but one in Newcastle who wore a pig-tail; Mr. Milner, the hardwareman, in Mosley Street, was the last. He was Steward of the Barony of Wark, and presided over the Court Leet of that Barony. In those days the North Tyne was spanned by fewer bridges than at present, and Mr. Peters had to cross it on horseback in the course of his peregrinations. On one occasion the river was fuller than he could have wished, and he took up a boy on his horse in front of him to keep him in the shallowest part. In spite of all, the horse got dangerously deep down in the water, and Mr Peters' heart began to pant. "Are you not afraid?" he said to the boy. "No," says the boy, "I'm a top swimmer." I am afraid Mr. Peters was not comforted. He got safely over, however, to attend many more courts and meetings of the Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. G. A. Dickson, who, I believe, was a linen-draper in Newcastle, seems to have been an ardent friend of the Society in its earliest years. He presented several altars to it, and his descriptions of them are given in our Transactions.

Amongst the other generous donors of altars and other valuable relics were Mr. Gibson of Reeds mouth, who gave us the inscribed stones which had long lain about the station of Housesteads; the Rev. Mr. Wastell, of Newbrough, who ordered the antiquities found

* pp. 122 and 123.

upon his estate at Walltown to be sent to the Society ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Coulson, of Blenkinsopp, who gave the antiquities from Carvoran.

There is one name that stands prominent among the supporters of the Society, to which I must now refer—that of Mr. John Hodgson Hinde. For long occupied with politics, he being for many years one of the members for the borough of Newcastle, he was prevented from attending so much as he would the meetings of our Society. When relieved from these cares he was a tower of strength to us. He was an excellent scholar, he had a clear and a correct judgment, and was able to draw from the facts which he ascertained, wise and truthful conclusions. His papers are numerous, and of excellent quality.

The Society was at one time anxious that one of its members, if the right man could only be found, should complete the *History of Northumberland*, which the Rev. John Hodgson, to the regret of every one, had left unfinished. Many eyes were turned to Mr. Hodgson Hinde, and in accordance with general desire he compiled the first volume of the *History*—namely, that devoted to the general history of the county, which the original writer had not touched. But here he stopped. Again, at the instigation of Mr. Thomas Gray, a tobacconist in the town, he began to write a *History of Newcastle*, a few sheets of which were printed at the press of Mr. George Bouchier Richardson, one of our members. But Mr. Gray leaving the town the work was stopped. This I exceedingly regret. Mr. Hodgson Hinde had all the powers and the experience necessary to the authorship of a really good history of Newcastle. He read middle-age manuscripts with ease. If any one would have relieved him of the commercial and the mechanical part of the task, he would with pleasure have done all the mental work, for the mere pleasure of doing it, and let his mechanical colleague have had all the honour of it. I exceedingly regret that these ideas did not occur to me when he was still in his mental prime. I believe that if I, or some one else, had stood between him and the printing press the work would have been done.

Another of the early members of our Society was the Rev. Hugh Salvin, one of the clergy officiating under Mr. Collinson, in Gateshead. In the first volume of our quarto Transactions* is a paper by him, consisting of a translation from the German of a pamphlet by J.

* *Archæologia Æliana*, I., pp. 219-230.

Andreas Buchner, on the Devil's Wall, or great Roman Wall, in Germany. Although this pamphlet contained many erroneous views, it opened the eyes of Englishmen to this great Continental work of defence of the Roman era. It possibly prepared the way for Mr. Yates's able paper on the *Limes Rhoeticus and Limes Transrhenanus of the Roman Empire*,* which was read at the Newcastle meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1852, and for the still more complete and able treatise on the same subject by our Secretary, Dr. Hodgkin, which is published, accompanied by admirable illustrations, in the ninth volume of the new series of our Transactions.†

Mr. Salvin was an able and very amiable man, and was besides well skilled in many branches of science. But like many able men, he was an absent man. On one occasion, when walking out to Jesmond to dine with Mr. Losh, he was overtaken by a heavy shower of rain, and was well nigh wet through. Mr. Losh kindly offered him a suit of his own clothes, and he went up into a bedroom to effect the change. When dinner was announced, Mr. Salvin did not make his appearance. After waiting a considerable time, a servant was sent up stairs to say that dinner was waiting. Mr. Salvin, forgetting the object for which he had gone up stairs, had undressed and got into bed, where he was comfortably reposing when the servant made his entry. I have been reminded by my friend, the Rev. E. H. Adamson, of another instance of Mr. Salvin's temporary obliviousness, which might have had serious results. Hurrying one day along the street he met his Rector, Mr. Collinson. After exchanging the usual greetings, they entered upon the discussion of an article which had appeared in a recent number of the *Edinburgh or Quarterly Review*, when all at once Mr. Salvin remembered that he had taken poison by mistake, and was on his way to a chemist's for an emetic. Happily, he was, after all, not too late. Mr. Salvin, at an early period in the history of our Society (1824), became a chaplain in the Royal Navy; but he eventually became Vicar of Alston, where he died in 1852.

One of the original members of our Society was Robert Surtees of

* *Proceedings of the Royal Archæological Institute*, 1852; Newcastle, Vol. I., pp. 97-134.

† *Archæologia Æliana*, IX., pp. 73-161.

Mainsforth, the author of *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*. I do not find that he took an active part in its affairs, or contributed any papers to its Transactions; but by giving the Society the countenance of his name, he added greatly to its strength. He was a truly able man; he was intimately acquainted with the Greek and Roman classics, his heraldic knowledge was deep, and his skill in tracing the pedigrees of the chief families of his county could not be surpassed. In the best and highest sense of the word, he was a good man; he delighted in doing good, and as far as was in his power, he rejoiced in making others happy. He was withal a bright and cheerful man, and no one loved a harmless joke more than he. He did not consider himself to be an antiquary, and in one of his letters to the Rev. John Hodgson, published in his *Life*, by Mr. Taylor, he says so, and yet he was an antiquary in reality of the highest order. He probably meant that he was not a Roman antiquary; and here I may be allowed to indulge in the expression of a thought which has often occurred to me. The field of antiquarian research is so extensive that few persons—none but those most highly gifted—can be skilled in all its parts. The circumstances by which we are surrounded, or our natural tastes, lead us to select the one or the other branch of archæological research—the field of British antiquities, or Roman, or Saxon, or Mediæval. Now, we are naturally disposed to think the field of our own peculiar choice to be preferable to all others, and to under-rate the studies of our companions in other walks. The Black-letter antiquary is thankful that he does not waste his time over “Roman rubbish,” and the man who holds converse with the heroes of Imperial Rome is perhaps tempted to think lightly of “the mere Mediævalist.” On the other hand, the student of Egyptian and Babylonian hieroglyphics and sculptures is apt to crow over all. But surely there is room for us all. Why not rejoice in this division of labour, and why not encourage one another to pursue diligently the paths we have severally chosen. The North of England presents a very inviting field to the student of Roman antiquities; it is nothing remarkable therefore, if topics of this nature are more frequently brought before this Society than those of other eras; but assuredly the student of this branch of archæology would greatly forget himself if he were not willing, most gladly to give way and welcome to the front the inquirer



Robert Surtees

into the ways of the original inhabitants of our country, or of our Saxon forefathers, or of the men who flourished under the Plantagenets and Tudors.

I have said that Mr. Surtees was a man of humour. He loved a joke. He was a mediæval antiquary, and he sometimes made fun of what I may call his elder brethren. He was amused at the eagerness with which Roman antiquaries often scan a coin. I have been told that in the indulgence of this vein he used occasionally, when crossing the Tyne Bridge at Newcastle, or the Framwelgate Bridge at Durham, to toss a penny or a halfpenny into the water, that the antiquaries of a subsequent era might have the rich satisfaction of examining and describing them, of smelling and tasting them. Here are some lines of his upon what he calls—

RUSTY MEDALS.

“Oh! the antiquary's pleasure!
Rusty medals are his treasure
Many a canker'd piece he pores on,
With heads of ancient sons of — on,
Antoninus, Galba, Trajan,
Many an ugly, grinning pagan,
Neither nose nor eyes remaining—
That's the field to show his training.
He can run by scent and savour;
Knows an Otho by the flavour”—

&c. &c. &c.

It is well known that he was the author of the piece of which the following is the first stanza :—*

“Hoot awa', lads, hoot awa',
Ha' ye heard how the Riddleys, and Thirlwalls, and a',
Ha' set upon Albany Fetherstonhaugh,
And taken his life at the Deadmanshaugh:
There was Willimoteswick,
And Hardriding Dick,
And Hughie of Hawden, and Will of the Wa',
I canna' tell a', I canna' tell a',
And mony a mair that the deil may knaw.”
&c. &c.

which Sir Walter Scott introduces into his *Marmion*† as a genuine antique.

* *Life of Surtees* (Surtees Society, Vol XXIV.), p. 238.

† Canto I., Note M.

No one was more anxious to avoid hurting the feelings of another, and yet on this subject he seems to have been unable to restrain a laugh at the expense of his friend the historian of Northumberland.

It seems that the Rev. John Hodgson and he had examined the Roman camp at Jarrow together, and that in their friendly conversation, Mr. Hodgson had laid particular stress upon the finding of a *denarius* of Vitellius, and giving it as a proof of the Roman occupation of the place. In due course the second volume of the *History of Durham* makes its appearance, and after giving in it an account of some Roman inscriptions which were found in Jarrow, and some Roman foundations and a wall, he concludes the sentence with these words:—“And on this very spot was found a silver coin of Aulus Vitellius.” He does not put a note of exclamation after the statement of this fact, but he appends the following note:—

“‘Trifles light as air, &c.

[Are to the jealous confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ.]

I am well aware of the force of this piece of artillery when pointed against antiquaries, yet a Denarius of Aulus Vitellius, which weighs, or, according to the best Paris goldsmiths, ought to weigh, sixty grains, found exactly where it should be, is no such trifle. ‘Friendly reader,’ if thou dost not believe, *ex imo corde*, that a Roman station, fort, or village, on the line or within the pale of Agricola’s wall, existed at Jarrow, ‘I do in very sober sadness, call thee *Giaour*,’ and thou wilt recollect that I am now far advanced into the middle provinces, the Flavia Cæsariensis of a second volume, without having hitherto had occasion to adjure so powerful a spirit as Tom Coryat.”* Surtees had finished his course before Hodgson published his account of Jarrow, and the reference which the historian of Northumberland makes to the note we have quoted is brief and kindly in the highest degree. He says:†—“Though Surtees, of dear and revered memory, has told some of the opinions I mentioned on the spot respecting the Roman origin of Jarrow, in a tone of sceptical levity, he has not, however, scattered all of them to the winds.” He then gives his reasons for supposing that Jarrow might be a place for traffic in corn, and goes on to show the use he wished to make of the coin of Vitellius. His remarks are:—

* *History of Durham*, Vol. II, p. 69.

† *History of Northumberland*, Part II., Vol. III., p. 230.

"Aulus Vitellius was destroyed in A.D. 69, after a short reign of 352 days: as his coins therefore could not be in quantity enough to continue long in circulation, it seems probable to infer that the wall in which the forementioned denarius was found was constructed not many years after his death." He adds that it may have been put up by the soldiers of Agricola, but certainly not later than the reign of Hadrian.

Years ago the pen so ably wielded by the amiable and gifted Hodgson, fell from his hand, and his history, as well as that of his much esteemed fellow-labourer, has been left incomplete. To our able Vice-President, Mr. W. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe, the antiquarian world looks for the completion of the *History of Durham*, and our fellow-member, Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates, has shown in the numerous papers which he has laid before the Institute and our Society, how specially fitted he is to follow in the footsteps of the lamented Hodgson. Should I be right in my forecast on this subject, every British patriot must wish both of these gentlemen success in their labours.

On the 5th July, 1815, "The Rev. J. Raine, proposed by Messrs. Hodgson, Murray, and Brumell, was balloted for and unanimously elected." So say the minutes of that date. Dr. Raine, the author of *North Durham*, and other works of importance, was always heartily welcomed when he was able to attend our meetings. He was the friend of Hodgson and Surtees, and the helper of both. I well remember his last appearance amongst us. He read on that occasion a paper on some *Inscriptions in Chillingham Castle*, which appears in the third volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*, 8vo. series.* In a note to this paper Mr. Longstaffe has the following remarks: "The hand of death has been heavy in 1858. The late Dr. Raine proposed to inspect the inscriptions at Chillingham, to which the excellent paper given above refers, and to revise his essay. The lamentable decay of his health prevented his intended journey. His words now can only be given as they were read at our anniversary meeting, but they possess a high interest as almost his last literary effort, and for their admirable delineations of character."

As this paper is probably in the hands of very few of our present members, I may perhaps be permitted to extract from it a humorous

* pp. 277-286.

account of the courtship of Robert Lambe, the Vicar of Norham, more than a century ago. Dr. Raine thought that Mr. Lambe, who was literally "dripping with Latin and Greek," might be the author of the Chillingham inscriptions. But let that pass. Latin and Greek do not satisfy all the wants of life. Lambe had for some time been Minor Canon in the Cathedral of Durham. "He had not long been settled in Norham," says Dr. Raine, "before he began to feel the want of a wife; and along with the want came the recollection of a young woman who resided in Durham, of the name of Philadelphia Nelson, the daughter of a well-known carrier between London and Edinburgh, and a female of high character and respectability, upon whom he was not long in settling his affections. The result was a proposal by letter; and in due time the lovesick Vicar was accepted. Another request was then made, which, even to the carrier's daughter, must, I think, have appeared to be of somewhat an unusual kind:—'I cannot leave my parish to come to you. I really wish you would put yourself into one of your father's waggons and come down to me. I will meet you on such a day at Berwick; but as I want our meeting to be as private as possible, and as I have no very distinct recollection of your personal appearance, I have to propose that you will meet me upon the pier there, with a tea caddy under your arm to prevent any chance of mistake.' There was then living in Berwick a person of the name of Howe, who had risen to high rank in the Navy, and who, thrice a day, for the sake of exercise, walked to the end of this said pier, and then returned home to his meals. One day, before dinner, the gallant old Admiral met in his walk a young woman with a tea caddy under her arm, who, as he saw at once, was a stranger; but he took no further notice of the matter. Before tea, after an interval of three or four hours, he met in the same place the same person, walking up and down with the caddy under her arm, and looking townwards with an anxious eye; but still he spoke not—neither did she. Late in the evening the Admiral went out for his third and concluding walk, and, sure enough, there was the self-same female, no longer walking up and down with the tea caddy, but sitting upon a stone, fairly worn out, with the tea caddy beside her, and apparently anxious to be spoken to, that she

might have an opportunity of telling her tale of distress. The Admiral's gallantry was touched by her beseeching eye. He addressed her, and heard her tale of Lambe and his breach of promise to meet her on that very day and make her his wife at Norham. 'Ha! said he, 'Robin Lambe is a great friend of mine. This is just like him. He has forgot all about it; but he'll make you a capital husband. Come home with me, young woman, and you shall be kindly treated for the night.' The girl, nothing fearing, complied. In the morning he put her into a coach, and went along with her to Norham. Lambe blushed and apologised, and the two were married a few days afterwards, the Admiral giving the bride away."

It seems a pity to add another word to this amusing and bright story. But how often in life is it that dark clouds overshadow the brightest prospects. Dr. Raine adds:—"The poor girl died in childbed of her first child—a daughter."

In the list of members of the Society for the year 1822, I notice the name of "Mr. John Buddle, Wallsend, Northumberland." Mr. Buddle was at that time a prominent character amongst the notabilities of the North, and for many years subsequently. At a period when the coal trade held its head above all the industries of the district, he was its chief representative—being the most distinguished "viewer" of the North. He was a man of agreeable presence, and of great conversational powers. He did not take an active part in the proceedings of our Society; but he had the good sense to belong to it. It was from him that I first learned the fact that the eastern rampart of the station of SEGEDUNUM, Wallsend, was continued down the bank into the River Tyne to the lowest point of the tide. Bathing in the river when a boy, he had often noticed this fact. I heard him relate the following incident which, though not of antiquarian interest, gives us a picture of times that are past. One of his pitmen, out of regard to him, had gathered for his use a large quantity of hazel nuts, and not wishing to give his master the trouble of divesting them of their shells he had brought them all under the influence of his own grinders. Mr. Buddle in accepting the kind present, remarked to the donor that he had been at the trouble to crack them. "Yes" said the pitman, "and did not my ja's wark (ache)." I have heard Mr. Buddle remark

that the pitmen had already nearly all lost the pit language. They had become refined in their speech. There are no pitmen now-a-days, they are all "miners." There are no "viewers," they have all become "mining engineers."

I have stated that when the Society removed from the Old Castle it held its meetings in Farrington's Yard, Bigg Market. After a time the members assembled for a short period in Mr. Adamson's house. When, however, the Literary and Philosophical Society erected their present commodious premises, the Society procured apartments in the same building. These were in the rear of the structure, but were eventually absorbed by the present lecture room.

For several years the anniversary meetings of the Society were succeeded by an "annual dinner"—price, one guinea. This festive entertainment must have caused a large expenditure of mental energy. A report of one of them (January, 1829) is given in one of Mr. Bell's newspaper cuttings; and I find that not less than twenty-seven toasts were given, and most of them responded to. Hard work this!

During the history of this Society, I only know of one man who was black-balled. That person was Mr. Eneas Mackenzie, the well-known author of *Histories of Newcastle, Northumberland, and Durham*. This took place on the 3rd March, 1824. Perhaps this circumstance accounts for a remark which Mr. Mackenzie makes in his account of the Antiquarian Society in his *History of Newcastle*:—"This Society has not evinced much zeal in the discovery of the remains of antiquity."*

As is the case with most societies, ours has had its times of dullness as well as of prosperity. In the Annual Report for 1847, the following passage occurs:—"The Council regret to state that only one new ordinary member has been added to the list, while three have been lost to the Society by death or resignation. . . . The member added is the Rev. J. C. Bruce." I may be pardoned if I make another extract from the same document, as it indicates the beginning of a new state of things. "The Rev. J. C. Bruce read a lecture on the Castles of England, and particularly that of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, illustrated with large and beautiful drawings.

* p. 487.



John Bruce

MASTER OF PERCY STREET ACADEMY.
ONE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LIT. AND PHIL. SOC.
ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES,
AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SCHOOLMASTERS ASSOCIATION.
OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

Born 1775 Died Oct. 31st 1834 Aged 59.

*Engraved by W. Collard. from an Original Picture by H.P. Barker
in the Possession of M^r Bruce.*

It was proposed that a Committee should be formed to see what could be done towards the preservation and restoration of the Old Castle, and to solicit subscriptions."

A committee was formed, and it set to work vigorously. As a proof of the success of their exertions, I may refer to a minute of the proceedings of the Society at its annual meeting the next year (1848):—"A vote of thanks to the Corporation for so readily having granted a lease of the Castle, and for the munificent donation of £250 towards the restoration of the building, was carried by acclamation."

The work of restoration was begun at once, under the care of Mr. Dobson, an eminent architect of that day; and on the 3rd August of the same year, the banquet, to which I have already referred, was held in the great hall, to commemorate our occupation of the grand old keep. Long ago we had an eye to the Black Gate. In the *Gateshead Observer* of October 6th, 1855, is the following reference to the subject, at a meeting held here on the previous Wednesday:—"Dr. Charlton returned to the subject of the Black Gate of the Castle. The Duke of Northumberland, he said, had suggested its conversion into a muniment room, in which Newcastle and Northumberland records and papers might be preserved for reference. He should regret to see a relic, of which they ought to be so proud, destroyed or occupied as miserable tenements. Mr. Clayton, who was in the chair, said "the town, he was sure, would view the question with no sordid feelings. The Black Gate now yielded a revenue to the Corporation of £60, being occupied by twelve families comprising sixty individuals. It was a garrison in itself. No doubt it could be restored, or rather developed—for little restoration would be required. And in doing so the Corporation would only be following up the step which they took some forty years ago, when they purchased the Castle from the grantees of the Crown, and preserved it from destruction. The purchase was made in 1813, at a cost of £600; besides which a larger sum, probably, had been expended on the Castle, but no account had been kept. The inhabitants of the Black Gate, he was inclined to believe, would be loth to abandon their stronghold, for there were families in it who had lived there twenty years."

Now, happily, the Black Gate has been developed, and put to a use worthy of its historic interest.

After the Society removed from the rooms of the Literary Society to the Castle, as its permanent abode, it recovered its former vigour and activity. But there were some signs of the formation of two parties—the old party and the young party. The young ones thought that the old ones did not move fast enough—the old ones thought the young ones wanted to go too fast. Now that I am an old man, and have the feelings of one, I wish, in reviewing this part of our Society's history, that we of the young party had deferred more to the feelings of the founders of the Society—Mr. Adamson and Mr. Bell. I wish that all feeling had been repressed, and that we had patiently waited till each step could have been unanimously and harmoniously taken. However, we are thoroughly harmonious now, and long may we continue to be so.

And now I have done. These jottings have run on to a greater length than I had anticipated, and yet I have left unnamed several men who served the Society well.

Sir Cuthbert Sharp, the author of the *History of Hartlepool*, the *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, and of the *Bishopric Garlands*, was one of its earliest members, but, on his removal to a distance, he ceased to attend; but he rejoined us when he became Collector of the Customs of Newcastle. He backed up us of the younger party in our little controversies, on account of which, I suppose, Mr. Bell, in his Collections, amusingly denominates him "Cuddy Sharp." Mr. John Fenwick, was an early member, and he continued to be so till his death. Dr. Charlton was the author of several papers in our Transactions, and did good service for many years in the capacity of Secretary. The late Mr. Ralph Carr-Ellison was an earnest worker; of him I have already given some jottings (see *Proceedings*, Vol. I., p. 125). Mr. Kell, a solicitor, and for some time Town Clerk of Gateshead, helped on greatly the common cause. He rendered me invaluable assistance in the pilgrimage along the Roman Wall, which some of us undertook in the summer of 1848; and he was the soul of the Melodies Committee, which put forth strenuous efforts to preserve from oblivion the ancient music of Northumbria; and Mr. Robert White, who was a poet as well

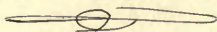


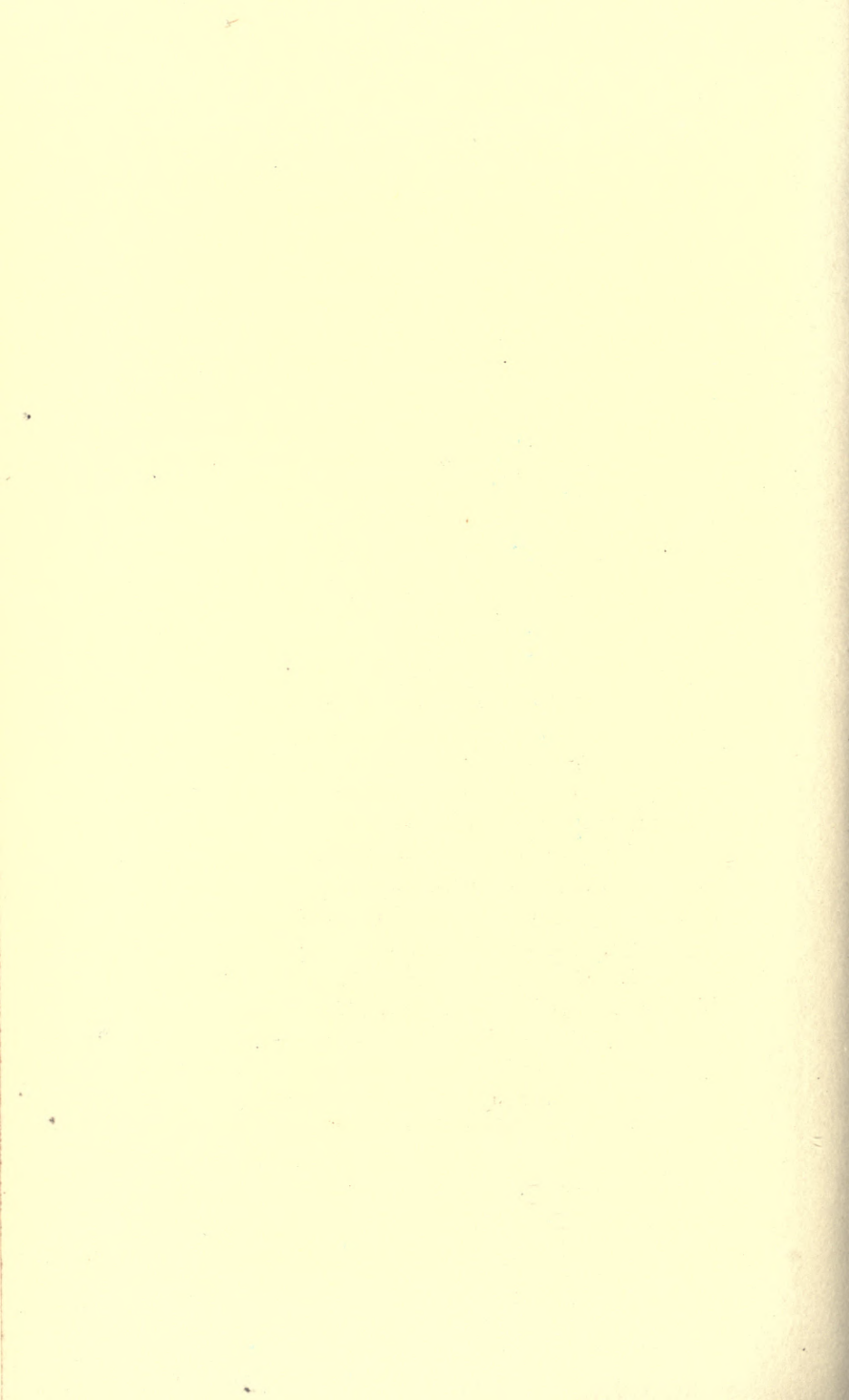
*Very truly yours,
Ralph Carr Ellison.*

RALPH CARR-ELLISON, ESQ., J.P.,
ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY.



Yours truly
Robert White.

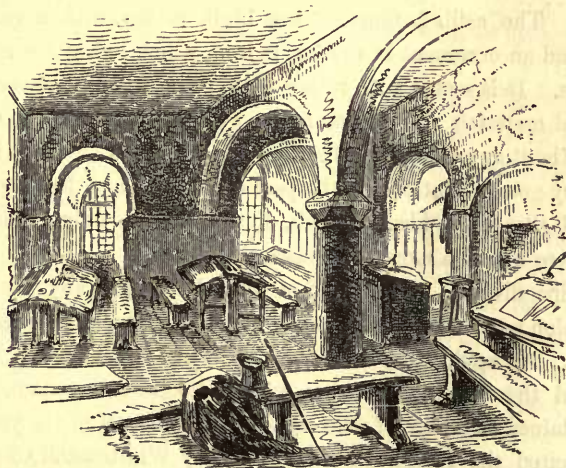




as an antiquary. He was the author of a valuable work on the Battle of Otterburn, of papers in our Transactions on the Battles of Flodden Field and Neville's Cross, and of another in which he pays a graceful tribute to the memory of Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde. He wrote also several interesting papers for *Richardson's Table Book*.* These old members, and several others, I hope, some one else will ere long bring under our notice.

My remarks have for the most part been of a light and trivial nature. My papers, usually, from the dryness of their details, are not a little trying to the patience of those who are not addicted to epigraphical pursuits. In endeavouring for once to change my course, I have, perhaps, overshot the mark; in which case I hope you will excuse me.

* For a genial notice of Mr. Robert White, by Mr. Clephan, see *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. VII., p. 274, etc.



Library of the Society in the Castle; formerly used as a School Room.

XIV.—WHITTONSTALL CHURCH.

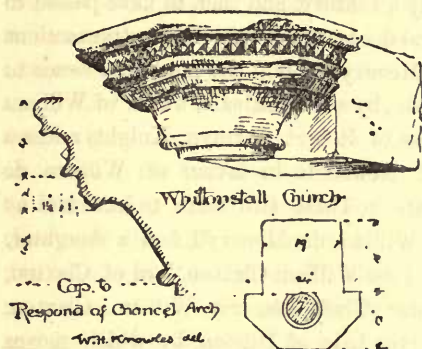
BY THE REV. J. L. LOW.

[Read on the 26th August, 1885.]

THIS church was rebuilt in the year 1830, and the architecture is neither better nor worse than was to be expected at that period. It consists of a nave, about fifty feet long by twenty-six feet wide. Eleven feet are partitioned off at the west end for a vestry and vestibule, both of very good dimensions. A somewhat slender tower at the west end contains a bell. There is an outshot at the east end, ten feet deep by fourteen feet wide, for the Holy Table. The walls, though of no great thickness, have been most faithfully built; for although the situation is very exposed, particularly to the west, there is no sign of damp in the west wall—a very unusual thing in a church in such a position. The ceiling, fourteen feet high, is flat, with a cornice all round, and an ornament in the centre from which hangs a corona with six lamps. It is seated with rather high pews, which, however, are of very good materials and workmanship, with doors. All the seats are alike, without any distinction between rich and poor. The whole displays very good intentions on the part of the builders, leaving it to be regretted that their ideas—which, however, were only those of the time—were not of a more ecclesiastical tone.

At this distance of time, it is difficult to get any trustworthy information as to the character of the building which the present one replaced. An application made some years ago to an aged priest, who happened then to be the oldest in the diocese of Durham, and had been ordained as curate of Shotley and Whittonstall in the year 1818, only elicited the response that in his day Whittonstall Church was “a perfect hovel.” At the time of his acquaintance with Whittonstall, very few had the knowledge necessary to judge, from existing remains, what such a building may once have been. Of course, this remark applies with still greater force to surviving parishioners. All that has

been got from them is: that the building was very small and very dilapidated; that there was something like an arch in the wall at the west end, and further westward, ruins; no belfry, and consequently no bell; and that there were three small windows in the east end.



One stone alone of the old building, as far as is known, remains, but it is an important one. It is clearly one of the corbels of what must have been a very good Early English chancel arch, bearing a very strong resemblance to those at Medomsley, on the opposite hill in the county of Durham.

It must be owned that these are very slender materials for forming an opinion, but an attempt may be made to guess what they suggest.

1. The one stone remaining is the corbel of a chancel arch, therefore the church consisted of a nave and chancel.

2. The chancel had opened into the nave with an arch of Early English character of considerable beauty.

3. The east end of the chancel was lighted by three lancets.

4. In 1830 the chancel only was in use, the nave being in ruins, the chancel arch remaining, but built up, the chancel itself being in a very dilapidated state.

In fact, the church seems to have borne some resemblance to Medomsley and the two churches at Bywell, particularly to St. Peter's, which was the mother church, though not, perhaps, so lofty as that is. All things considered, it seems likely that Whittonstall Chapel was originally built early in the thirteenth century, while the manor was still in the possession of the Baliols. It may possibly have been a copy, on a smaller scale, of the mother church of St. Peter's, just as we see that Durham Cathedral, a few score years earlier, was reproduced in miniature in the island of Lindisfarne.

The chapelry is conterminous with the estate of Whittonstall, comprising the two townships of Whittonstall and Newlands. It originally belonged to the Baliols. This distinguished and very

powerful family, as is well known, was ruined in consequence of their pretensions to the crown of Scotland, towards the end of the thirteenth century. But before this, the manor of Whittonstall and its appurtenances had been granted to the Darrayns, in whose possession it appears to have remained nearly a century, and then to have passed to the Menevyls. There are several deeds extant referring to transactions between the Darrayns and the Menevyls; but the final deed seems to be one dated at Midsummer, 1366, by which Isabella, widow of William de Kellaw, daughter and heiress of Robert Darrayn, Knight, releases all right to Whittonstall and Newlands in favour of William de Menevyl and Dionisia his wife. These two seem to have had no family; but, by a second wife, William de Menevyl had a daughter, Isabella, who became the wife of Sir William Claxton, lord of Claxton, in the Bishoprick of Durham. Their son, Sir William Claxton, became heir to Emma Tyndale, the lady of Dilston, by which means Dilston and Whittonstall came to be vested in the same owners. Sir William's son, Sir Robert, had four daughters, the second of whom, Joanna, was married to John Cartington of Cartington Tower, near Rothbury, and seems to have had Dilston and Whittonstall as her portion. Anne, the daughter and heiress of John and Joanna Cartington, married Sir Edward Radclyffe of Derwentwater, in the county of Cumberland, who was still living in the second year of Henry VIII. Their descendant, Sir Francis Radclyffe, was created by James II. Baron Tyndale, Viscount Radclyffe and Langley, and Earl of Derwentwater. The melancholy fate of his grandson, James, third and last Earl of Derwentwater, is well known. He was a most amiable and accomplished nobleman, but, being engaged in the rising in favour of the Stewarts at the beginning of the reign of George I., he was beheaded, and all his estates were forfeited to the Crown. These estates were assigned by the Government for the support of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, and continued in the possession of the Commissioners for more than a century and a half. The estate of Whittonstall was sold in 1872 by the Lords of the Admiralty to Joseph Laycock, Esq., Alderman of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

It was, of course, while Whittonstall was the property of the Commissioners for Greenwich Hospital that the Chapel of Whittonstall was rebuilt, and no doubt the Commissioners contributed liberally to the work.

The Manor House, or Whittonstall Hall, occupied a site on the very summit of the hill which separates the valley of the Tyne from that of the Derwent, and must have commanded a very magnificent view of both valleys. It stood hard by the Roman Way, commonly called Watling Street, which leads from Corbridge to Lanchester. No ruins remain, only some ridges and mounds; but there are some old hedgerows, which seem to mark the avenues by which the house was approached. That the manor was one of considerable importance seems to be indicated by the fact that the privilege of a chapel was conceded to the lord and his tenants.

The church stands between 300 and 400 yards northwards from the site of the Hall, just under the summit of the hill. It is nearly five miles from the Parish Church of Bywell St. Peter's. There is no record of any ancient endowment, but the chapel seems, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to have had its own minister. After the insurrection of 1569, it was objected against Thomas Swalwell, curate of Medomsley, "That thou, in the tyme of the laite Rebellion, diddest procure, suffer, and maintayne one Sir John Cowper, curat of Whittonstall, to churche three women, and marye certain persones in latton [Latin], in such rite and form as was prescribed by the Pope, at Medomsley." In the Visitation Roll of Bishop Barnes's Chancellor in 1578, the names occur of George Cowper as curate of Whittonstall; William Strother, a Scotsman, curate of Shotley; William Assheton, vicar of Biwell Andrew; and Thomas Wilkinson, vicar of Biwell Peter; so that these four churches at that time had each its own minister. Shotley is designated as a parish church, Whittonstall as a chapel. At a later period it was different. A history of Northumberland, published in 1811, says that Whittonstall "has a small chapel, which belongs to the Vicarage of Bywell St. Peter, wherein divine service is performed once a month." This seems to indicate that the service was performed by the Vicar of Bywell, but the statement probably refers to a date previous to 1811; for in the list of clergy at the end of the book, Michael Maughan is given as the curate (incumbent) of Whittonstall, as well as of the adjoining parish of Shotley. In 1774 a grant was obtained from Queen Anne's Bounty and Whittonstall became a perpetual curacy. A farm of 74 acres, bearing the ominous name of Wetbottoms, was purchased in the moorlands of the Parish of Brancepeth, the rent of which could not be great; and pre-

vious to 1836 the living was usually held in conjunction with that of Shotley. The two Bywells were also held together, sometimes with a third or fourth living. Such was the order of things half-a-century ago. Not only were two or three of the best livings heaped upon some fortunate ecclesiastic, but two or three very small ones were accumulated on some poor priest, to eke out what must have been at the best a very scanty maintenance. The incumbents of Whittonstall and Shotley seem commonly to have had duties elsewhere, and their place was supplied by a sub-curate, who officiated in the two churches alternately, living, sometimes in great poverty, in the parsonage of Shotley at Unthank (which, by the way, is mentioned as their residence in the time of Queen Elizabeth), for there was no glebe house at Whittonstall. The Act restraining pluralities put an end to this system. Both livings were augmented; Shotley by the trustees of Lord Crewe, and Whittonstall by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the appropriators of the great tithes of the Parish of Bywell St. Peter's. Separate incumbents were appointed, and, in course of time, a glebe house was built at Whittonstall. Meantime, a huge town, named Crook, had grown up close to Wetbottoms, which began to be called by the more agreeable name of Wheatbottom, and coal was discovered under the glebe, which has tended much to the improvement of the benefice.

For a long series of years Mr. Simpson Brown was sub-curate of Shotley and Whittonstall, living in straitened circumstances in the parsonage at Unthank. He is understood to have been the son or grandson of a Mr. John Brown, an early convert of Mr. Wesley's, who mentions him repeatedly in his *Journals*. Mr. Wesley took care of the young man's education, and, in course of time, he was ordained. During his lifetime Mr. Brown erected a gravestone in Whittonstall churchyard, in memory of some members of his family, who were buried there. This gravestone is remarkable as being one of the earliest works of the sculptor Lough, who began life as a stonemason under a builder in the parish of Shotley. Mr. Brown retired from his curacy in 1818, and sixteen years after was himself buried in Whittonstall churchyard, at the age of 93. He is the ancestor of several highly respectable clergymen in the dioceses of Durham and Newcastle. Mr. Brown's immediate successor as sub-curate of Whittonstall and Shotley, was Mr. James Green, who eventually became vicar of St. John's in Weardale. He lived to be the oldest priest in

the diocese of Durham, and died a few years ago, when he was consigned to his last resting place by the vicar of Whittonstall, the place where, upwards of sixty years before, he had begun his ministry.

In this present day of church restoration and adornment, one can hardly look upon such a church as Whittonstall Church now is, without regret, but we must take into account the days in which it was built. The ancient churches were then full of the traces of Puritan ascendancy. Little account was made of a middle aisle. Very commonly the pulpit, which was the one centre of attraction, was placed against the south wall; or, if the church had aisles, against a pillar half-way down the nave, and all the seats were made to face it, so that many were turned away from the holy table. There were many four-sided pews where two sets of worshippers faced each other. Churches like All Saints, Newcastle, had not lost their prestige, which after all, on *some* accounts, they well deserved. According to the prevailing ideas of the worship of the sanctuary, the ancient churches with their long chancels and the obstruction of pillars and arcades, were very inconvenient. Whittonstall Church was built according to the ideas of the time; and no doubt, when it was finished, the worthy men who had the care of it looked upon their work as a triumph of common sense, and their new church as admirably adapted, much more so than the ancient churches, to the requirements of the reformed ritual. Moreover, all the ancient churches in the neighbourhood were at that time in a most miserable state of decay and squalor, and continued to be so for many years more. In these circumstances, for a long time after it was built, Whittonstall Church must have been regarded as one of the most convenient and handsome churches for some distance round, with its spacious vestibule and vestry, its middle aisle, its substantial and well-constructed seats, all alike for rich and poor—at a time when some of the neighbouring churches were disfigured by hideous four-posters for the more important parishioners—and none of the seats turned away from the holy table. Beyond doubt it was far in advance of most of the churches of the same rank in the county, and, in point of arrangement, superior to many city churches of great pretensions and repute. Let us honour good intentions where we see such evident tokens of them, and forbear to try the work of our recent predecessors by principles of which neither they nor anyone else at that time had any idea.

XV.—COLDINGHAM.

BY THE REV. J. L. LOW.

[Read on the 28th October, 1885.]

COLDINGHAM is a place of great antiquity, being first mentioned by the Venerable Bede, under the somewhat high-sounding name of *Coludi Urbis*, as the site of a monastery, in the time of Oswy, King of Northumbria, who began his reign A.D. 642. It was, according to a usage then common in the Anglo-Saxon church, a double monastery, consisting of two communities, one of men and another of women, under the same head. It was founded by a Saxon Princess, Ebba, daughter of Ethelfrid the Ravager, and great grand-daughter of Ida, the Man of Fire, who founded the kingdom of Bernicia. She was the sister of the two Kings, Oswald and Oswy. It is generally believed that she made her profession under Finan, the second Bishop of Lindisfarne. Her brother Oswy, it is said, first intended to marry her to a Scottish Prince, but yielded to her wishes to consecrate her life to the service of God. Most writers say that she first presided over a small community of women on the banks of the Northumbrian Derwent, at a place where there had been a Roman station, and now named after her, Ebba-ceaster, or Ebchester. But there is nothing of this in Bede, and it is possible that the name of the place, whatever its real meaning may be, suggested the story. Hilda, a daughter of the rival house of Ælla, after presiding over a monastery at Hartlepool, had finally settled in the far south of Deira, the southern division of Northumbria, at Streanes-halch, better known by its Danish name of Whitby. Ebba, on the other hand, chose for the site of her house the far north of Bernicia, the northern province, on a bold and precipitous headland, which still retains her name, St. Abb's Head. The situations of her monastery and that of Hilda's were very similar; each a lofty promontory looking over the North Sea, and exposed to all its wild storms—no token of life

but the scream of the sea bird. Perhaps an occasional boat might be seen, but this would be very rare. On the whole nothing could exceed the picturesque desolation of the spot where Ebba fixed her abode. The coast of Fife can be seen on a clear day to the northward, with the Isle of May in the foreground, the solitary rock of the Bass in the near neighbourhood to the west, while on the east the view stretches along the Northumbrian coast to Lindisfarne, Bamburgh, and the Farne Islands. The promontory is of immense height, though 500 feet perpendicular* may be an exaggeration. The building would be of a very humble character, like all these early monasteries, probably of wood, as Lindisfarne, and, no doubt, also the Mailros of that day. Modern refinement, and what at least deems itself to be enlightenment, may smile at the high-born Saxon lady and her brethren and sisters settling on this desolate spot to sing their psalms of penitence and praise, and to encourage one another in the pursuit of holiness, "declaring plainly that they sought a better country, that is, an heavenly." Doubtless they had good reasons for choosing their lot and the place of their habitation, and the moral force of their example could not but tell favourably on their fierce and warlike countrymen.

The earliest notice we have of Ebba's monastery from the Venerable Bede is in his *Life of St. Cuthbert*. When Cuthbert was Provost of Mailros, the fame of his holiness had reached Ebba, "who ruled a monastery situated in the place which is called the *City of Colud*, and was esteemed by all alike for her piety and her nobility, for she was the uterine sister of King Oswy." She sent to Cuthbert praying him to visit her and her community, that they might profit by his exhortations. He could not refuse to grant the request of the handmaid of God, so he came to the place, and remained some days, setting forth the way of righteousness alike by his deeds and his words. It was his wont, when all were at rest, to go out alone to prayer during the night, and when he had thus passed the watches of the night, to return home when the community met for morning prayer. One night a brother of the monastery saw him going quietly out, and curiosity tempted him to follow. He went

* Montalembert. *Les Moines d'Occ.*, XIII.. ch. 2, "qui descend a pic de près de cinq cents pieds dans l'Océan."

down to the sea, on the margin of which the monastery stood, waded into deep water till the waves covered his arms and reached his neck, and passed the dark hours of the night singing psalms to the accompaniment of the melody of the waves.* When dawn approached, he came to land, and bent his knees in prayer on the shore. As he was thus employed, two sea-otters came out of the water, lay down before him, and began to warm his feet with their breath and to wipe them with their hair. Having rendered him this service, and received his blessing, they returned to their native element. He then went home, and joined the brethren in their morning lauds. The brother who had been watching him was so struck with terror that he could hardly find his way home. The first thing that he did was to prostrate himself before Cuthbert, and with tears to entreat pardon, having no doubt that the holy man knew all. Cuthbert replied, "What aileth thee, my brother? What hast thou done? Hast thou been tracing my footsteps in my night journey? On this sole condition I pardon thee, that, as long as I live, thou never tell anyone what thou hast seen." The brother promised, and kept his word, for never, while Cuthbert lived, did he speak of the matter to anyone.

When Oswy died, he was succeeded by his son Egfrid, the nephew of Ebba. This Prince was first married to Edilthryda or Etheldreda, one of the daughters of Anna, King of the East Saxons, and, by her mother, niece of St. Hilda. Etheldreda had been married before, but had kept her virginity, and she did the same after her marriage to Egfrid. When she had been twelve years his wife, she at length obtained from him a most reluctant consent that she should take the veil, and it is somewhat remarkable that she did not go to her own aunt, Hilda, but to her husband's aunt, Ebba, at Coldingham. Here she received the veil from the famous Bishop Wilfrid. She remained at Coldingham about a year, when she heard that her husband was coming to recall her. By Ebba's advice she took flight, and went to Ely, where she had a large possession, which had been given to her by her former husband. Here she founded a monastery, which, two hundred years after was destroyed by the Danes. It was rebuilt afterwards, as a Benedictine Monastery, and created an Episcopal See by Henry I. Etheldreda is still regarded as the founder and patroness of Ely.†

* *Pervigiles undisonis in laudibus tenebras noctis exegit.*

† Her name stands in the Calendar of the Prayer Book, 17th October.

Wilfrid's part in this transaction seems to have given offence to the King, and he was never again reconciled to Wilfrid. Ermenburga, Egfrid's second queen, fomented the quarrel, and Wilfrid was eventually deprived of his Bishopric. He appealed to the Pope, and obtained a decision in his favour. But Egfrid declined to obey the papal rescript, alleging that the decision had been obtained by misrepresentation, and instead of being restored to his See, Wilfrid was spoiled of his goods and cast into prison. The Queen appropriated his reliquary, and wore it as an amulet about her neck. Wilfrid's place of confinement was Dunbar, not far from Coldingham. After a time the King, accompanied by the Queen, came to visit his aunt, the Abbess of Coldingham. While they were there, the Queen became very ill, and the Abbess administered to them both a severe rebuke for their treatment of Wilfrid, telling the Queen that, if she wished to recover, Wilfrid must be set at liberty, and she must restore his reliquary. She was obeyed—the reliquary was restored, Wilfrid was released, and the Queen recovered her health.

There is no reason to doubt the personal devotion and piety of Ebba, but it must be owned that she was not altogether happy in the management of her monastery. After her death, which took place in 683, the monastery was destroyed by fire, and its sad fate was looked upon as a judgment caused by the misconduct of its inmates. Yet they were warned beforehand. There was in the monastery a monk named Adamnan, who led a life of great strictness and devotion. One day he had occasion to go to some distance with another of the brethren. As they were returning, when they came within sight of the lofty buildings of the monastery, Adamnan burst into tears, while the distress of his countenance betrayed the agitation of his mind. In answer to his companion's enquiry, he foretold the destruction of the monastery on account of the irregularities by which it was defiled. Adamnan's companion lost no time in telling the Abbess what he had heard, and she sent at once for Adamnan. He told her that recently, when he was watching and praying during the night, a visitor, who was unknown to him, appeared, and commended him for employing his time so well. He then proceeded to tell him that he had gone through the house and visited every cell and every bed, and found that there were none among its inmates but himself who

took any care for their souls. The cells, which were intended for reading and prayer, were the scenes of idle talk and junketing, while the virgins dedicated to God employed their leisure in making very fine garments, either to adorn their own persons, as if they were brides, or to give them away, so as to win for themselves the friendship of men outside. The Abbess asked why he did not tell her all this sooner. He said he was afraid of disturbing her; but there was this comfort, that the ruin would not come while she lived. The story of the vision was made known to the community, and produced a reform for the present; but, after Ebba's death, they returned to their old ways, and became even worse. Then, when they were saying "Peace and safety," the destruction which had been foretold overtook them.

It seems, however, that before long the monastery was restored, but so far as appears, for women only, and, it may be hoped, was ordered with greater regularity. It was afterwards (about 870) destroyed by the Danes, like Lindisfarne, Mailros, and other religious houses, and there is a legend—which, however, comes before us at too late a date to be at all trustworthy—that another Ebba was then the Abbess, and that, when the attack of the barbarians was impending, she called the sisters together, and in their presence mutilated her face with a knife in a very shocking manner, exhorting them all to follow her example in order to preserve their honour. They at once did so, and the expedient succeeded so far as their honour was concerned, but in the rage of their disappointment the Danes destroyed them all.

For two centuries Coldingham lay waste, and the monastery was never rebuilt on the same site. Only the ruins of a chapel which belongs to a later period mark the spot. Little change has taken place in the surroundings. Fast Castle and Tantallon are the creations of later times, but the opposite coast of Fife, the Isle of May, the Bass, and all the natural scenery are the same—the scream of the seabird is the same as that to which Ebba and her brethren and her sisters listened. The roll of the North Sea is the same as that which was the accompaniment to St. Cuthbert's nocturnal psalm. The very ground all around is the same, for cultivation has not approached the site of the ancient monastery. These reflections render it a spot of deep interest to all who delight in recalling the memory of the simple piety and devotion of these ancient times.

After a desolation of two centuries the Monastery of Coldingham was revived, but, like Mailros, on a different site, and like Ely, Whitby, and many others, for a different class of religious—the monks of the order of St. Benedict. The new site is as much distinguished for its soft beauty as the old was for its wild grandeur. It is placed in a valley about two miles inland from St. Abb's Head. It was founded and amply endowed about the year 1100 by Edgar, King of Scots, "and given to God and St. Cuthbert, to the Church of Durham, and the monks serving God, and to them who should hereafter serve Him in that church, for ever, and for the souls of his father and mother, and for the health of his own soul and body, of his brothers and sisters, and for all his ancestors and successors." Edgar was one of the sons of King Malcolm Canmore and St. Margaret, and was next in succession to his father; but Donald, a brother of his father, usurped the throne. After a time, by the help of auxiliaries from England, led to battle, it is said, under the banner of St. Cuthbert, he overcame all opposition, and was seated on his father's throne. Out of gratitude to St. Cuthbert for the help which he believed he had afforded him, he founded this house in his honour. Succeeding kings of Scotland, great lords, with others of humbler rank, enriched it with their benefactions, including the advowson of several churches. It was peopled by a colony of monks from Durham.* The Prior was always a monk of Durham, appointed by the Prior and convent of that place, and removable at their pleasure, though he was generally allowed to retain his office until his death or promotion, or until he found it desirable to retire. Several of the Priors of Coldingham became Priors of Durham, a very great advancement. We have some accounts of the allowances made to a retiring Prior of Durham, and also many of the allowances made to a retiring Prior of Coldingham, and the difference between the two marks very strongly the splendour of the Priorate of Durham and the comparatively humble condition of the Prior of Coldingham.†

* The great Abbey of Durham had eight cells or dependent houses—Coldingham in Berwickshire, Holy Island and Farne Island in Northumberland, Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Finchale in Durham, Lytham in Lancashire, and Stamford in Lincolnshire—besides Durham College in Oxford where some of the younger monks resided for the purpose of study.

† As to a Prior of Durham, Robert de Walworth (who had been Prior of Coldingham), on his retirement in 1391, was to have lodging either in the cell of Finchale, or at Durham in the apartments called *Coldingham*, with food and drink for himself, for a monk as his chaplain, and for a gentleman, a clerk, a

The first two centuries after the foundation of the Benedictine Priory of Coldingham were years of quiet and prosperity. There was, upon the whole, with occasional interruptions, peace between England and Scotland, and it need hardly be said that this was very essential to the comfort of a house situated in one of two independent countries, and affiliated to a greater house in the other. During these two hundred years Scotland was, for the most part, peaceful and happy, making very great advances in prosperity, in wealth, and all the accompaniments of civilized life. Yet there were occasional breaches of the peace, and from its position, so near the border, Coldingham necessarily felt the effects. In 1214 the foolish and wicked King, John (certainly the worst in every way who ever ruled England) made an inroad into Scotland, in the course of which Coldingham was burned. Still, on the whole, the two kingdoms maintained mutual peace, and Scotland enjoyed prosperity; but this favourable state of things was not destined to last. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the direct succession to the crown of Scotland failed. Many candidates came forward to claim the crown on the grounds of collateral kinship to the family which had become extinct. Reference was made to Edward I., King of England, and he availed himself of the opportunity to claim the over-lordship of Scotland. The Scottish nation would not give up their independence, and the result was that as the two preceding centuries had been a time of peace, occasionally interrupted by warfare, the three which followed were a time of war, broken now and then by truces more or less prolonged. And this state of things lasted until, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, James VI. of Scotland was called to the throne of England as the nearest heir to the crown. But by that time the Priory of Coldingham had ceased to exist.

In these troublous times of war between England and Scotland the valet, and a page (*garçio*), with fire and other necessities for his apartments, and all reasonable demands for himself and visitors; for other expenses, a great part, if not the whole of the tithes of Pittington, near Durham. The provisions for two subsequent Priors on retirement are much the same, only that instead of the tithes they were to have a stipend of forty pounds. As to a Prior of Coldingham, Adam de Pontefracto, on his retirement in 1339, was to have apartments and food, with fuel and light, and one servant, also a payment of ten marks a-year. To John Oll in 1446, and Thomas Nessbit in 1456, was assigned a pension of ten marks a-year, charged on fisheries on the Tweed. There is no mention of apartments and food. Perhaps they were taken for granted.

possessions of the Church of Durham, on the borders or near them, as Lindisfarne, Norham, and Coldingham, were exposed to great disasters, so that the income of the church was much impaired. And, notwithstanding their ample endowments,* the monks of Coldingham were often reduced to great straits, and sometimes had to leave their home and go to Holy Island, or even to Durham. Besides all this, the litigations in the court of Rome, caused by disorders about to be mentioned, were a very heavy drain on the resources of Durham.

In 1304 a strange kind of aggression was attempted on the Priory of Coldingham. From the very beginning of his episcopate, Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, was on very bad terms with the Prior and Convent of Durham. He had a particular aversion to Richard de Hoton, who was Prior at the time, and he scrupled at no means by which he might annoy him and his brethren. Hugh, Bishop of Biblis, in Palestine, had been expelled from his See by the Saracens, and thus reduced to poverty; and the Bishop of Durham, who, though he was also Patriarch of Jerusalem, might have been expected to be a defender of the rights of the Convent, suggested to the Pope, Benedict XI., that he should provide for Hugh with the revenues of the Priory of Coldingham. The Pope adopted the suggestion, and issued letters accordingly. It was not to be expected that the Prior and Convent of

* In the Surtees volume on Coldingham Priory there is an account of the income of the monastery. The allusions it contains to forfeitures subsequent to the battle of Falkirk, in which Wallace was defeated by the English, fix its date about the year 1298. The roll is not quite complete; but, adding together what we have, the rental amounts to £338. Nearly two centuries and a half later, Henry VIII. dissolved all the religious houses whose income did not exceed £200; and this proved fatal to all the monasteries in the diocese of Durham, but the great Abbey of Durham itself. If we consider that in these two centuries and a half very great changes must have taken place in the relative value of money and land, £338 seems a very large income in 1298.

A curious indication of the wealth of Coldingham is to be found in a letter from William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, to Richard de Kellaw, Bishop of Durham, in the year 1311, complaining that the monks of Coldingham refused to contribute to the expense of sending delegates to the Council of Vienne, holding that they were not bound to do so. Now it did happen sometimes, when there was a schism in the papacy, that one Pope was owned in Scotland and another in England; in which case the monks of Coldingham would be in a dilemma between their allegiance to Durham on the one hand, and the obedience they owed to their diocesan, the Bishop of St. Andrews, on the other. But there was nothing of the kind here; Clement V., who summoned the Council, though not a Pope to be proud of, was owned by all, and the Council was attended by delegates from England, Scotland, and France alike. The Bishop of St. Andrews remarks that their excessive wealth had rendered them proud and insubordinate: "*Sed ipsi monachi propter inuniam, ut credimus, mundanorum habundanciam in tantam superbiam sunt elati, ut suis superioribus obedienter respondere . . . non curant universo.*"

Durham would submit to be thus robbed without protesting against it. They pleaded that the Pope's letters had been obtained surreptitiously by the suppression of truth and the suggestion of falsehood on the part of the Bishop of Durham. The protest furnishes some interesting particulars about the Priory of Coldingham. 1. The Prior was not appointed, as the Bishop had alleged, by the Prior of Durham, but by the common consent of the Prior and Convent. 2. There were residing at Coldingham thirty monks in the time of peace, and seven in time of war between England and Scotland. At this time there were seven, and when peace returned there would be thirty. These lived upon the revenues of Coldingham, and in addition, in time of peace, paid sixty-nine pounds every year to the Prior and Convent of Durham. If their revenues were taken away, the payment to Durham would cease, and the monks would have to return to Durham, to the scandal of religion and great loss and damage to the Convent of Durham. 3. The revenues of Coldingham arose from possessions bestowed on the church of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert at Coldingham by various kings of Scotland, for the good of their own souls and those of their ancestors and successors. If the revenues were taken away, divine service would cease, to the hurt and damage of the founders. Hugh came to England and presented the papal letters to King Edward I., in the Parliament at Westminster. But the King and Parliament refused to admit them, and thus the whole design was frustrated.*

Robert II., King of Scotland (1371-1390), the first of the line of Stewart, formed the design of withdrawing Coldingham from its dependence on Durham, and placing it under the Benedictine Monastery of Dunfermline. This wears on the sur-

* There is a remarkable letter addressed to Edward I. in 1286, by the Community of Scotland, in reference to the marriage proposed between Edward's son and their young Queen, Margaret (the Maid of Norway). It is interesting chiefly from the view it gives of the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries of Scotland at the time, and the order of their precedence. It is signed—

1. By the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, who did not become *Archbishops* until 200 years later.
2. By two Guardians of the Realm.
3. By the ten remaining Bishops of that day.
4. By twelve Earls.
5. By twenty-three Abbots (nearly the whole).
6. By eleven Priors—among whom the Prior of St. Andrews ranks first, and the Prior of Coldingham second, thus showing the importance of Coldingham.
7. By forty-eight Barons.

face the aspect of a very arbitrary and unjust proceeding; but there are some considerations which may tend at least to modify this view. The Priory was founded by a Scottish king, and at a time when there were few, if any, great religious houses in the land.* His mother, St. Margaret, had been the means of erecting a stately church at Dunfermline, but there was no monastic foundation there till the time of her youngest son, the second successor of Edgar, David I. To him also was due the foundation of all the stately monasteries in the neighbourhood of Coldingham, Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh. Edgar, himself, was at peace, and in alliance with England; indeed, it was by English aid that he had been seated on the throne. The foundation was a thank-offering to God and St. Cuthbert. What more appropriate, considering *all* these circumstances, than to place his new foundation under the protection of St. Cuthbert at Durham?

But in the time of Robert II. all this was changed. England and Scotland had been engaged for nearly a century in bitter warfare—the English determined to entirely subjugate Scotland, the Scots contending for the independence of their country. It was manifestly most inconvenient that there should be a colony of Englishmen, especially so near the Border, appointed at the will of Englishmen, in all but complete independence of the Scottish king, for the Prior and Convent of Durham declined to allow him to have any voice in the selection of a brother of their own house to be Prior of Coldingham. On the other hand, there were now many religious houses of great importance in Scotland. Dunfermline belonged to the same monastic order as Durham, and there it was that King Edgar's father, Malcolm Canmore, and his saintly mother, Queen Margaret, were buried; and there, it might very fairly be said, if the royal founder had lived in King Robert's days, he would have placed the superiority over Coldingham.

From the first, Coldingham was in the position of what came to be called an "alien priory," that is, a cell in one kingdom dependent on some greater house in another, and possibly hostile, country. There

* There is good reason for believing Coldingham to be the oldest monastic foundation of more recent times in Scotland. It was founded by Edgar in 1098. Scone, most likely the next in order of time, by his successor, Alexander I. while in the reign of David I., the youngest of Malcolm Canmore and St. Margaret's sons, there were a great number—Dunfermline among the rest.

were many of these in England ; as a natural consequence of the close connection which long subsisted between England and Normandy, some great Norman monasteries had their dependent cells in England. When England lost Normandy, and was at war with France, this came to be found a great inconvenience, and, early in the fifteenth century, the King and Parliament of England dissolved all "alien priories," confiscated their revenues, and granted them to the Crown for secular purposes—surely a far more violent and unwarrantable proceeding than King Robert's design of transferring a cell, situated in his kingdom, from a monastery in a hostile country to a monastery of the same order in his own. It is not at all likely that any religious house in Scotland had cells in England, but many of them had property in that country, of which they were entirely deprived by the English. It is not perhaps necessary to mention that charges of misconduct had been brought against English Priors of Coldingham, because when a measure of this kind is in view, such charges are never wanting. It is very possible that they were true, but it is equally possible, perhaps even likely, that they were not. Whatever might be the truth of these allegations, they were put forward as the reason for the change which the King contemplated, and a charter was issued investing the Abbot of Dunfermline with the right of appointing the Prior of Coldingham, and filling the house with monks of his own convent.

Among all her dependencies, Coldingham was the richest jewel in the crown of Durham, and it is not to be supposed that the Prior and Convent would tamely submit to be deprived of it. They made their protests to the King of Scotland and to the Bishop of St. Andrews, in whose diocese Coldingham was situated, and to whom the priors on their appointment had to promise obedience. They got the King of England to interfere in their favour, but it does not appear that the charter granted to Dunfermline was ever cancelled. Both dignitaries, the Abbot of Dunfermline and the Prior of Durham, presented to the Priory of Coldingham, and it would appear that sometimes the nominee of the one and sometimes the nominee of the other was in possession. About 1441 the Prior and Convent of Durham appointed John Oll, a monk of Durham ; and the Abbot of Dunfermline appointed William Boys, a monk of Dunfermline. Each pleaded his

cause before the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Prior of Durham himself made a reply to the pleadings of Boys. The paper of the monk of Dunfermline was a very able and learned one, much more so than that of the Prior of Durham. In the course of it he names a whole series of monks appointed Priors of Coldingham by the Abbot of Dunfermline, and some of these seem to have been actually in possession, at least for a time. The ultimate decision, however, on this occasion was in favour of Oll.*

The frequent wars between England and Scotland were not the only source of trouble and loss to the Priory of Coldingham. The kingdom of Scotland was scarcely ever in the enjoyment of internal peace. The authority of the sovereign, who was often a minor, was very much hampered, and not seldom set at naught by a fierce and turbulent nobility; and the border clans were at all times rude and lawless. It was difficult for Coldingham to maintain its position, even in times of peace, and the Prior and Convent were induced by this state of things to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of making a powerful nobleman their bailiff and protector. This was the great Archibald, Earl of Douglas. The powers conferred on him by the Prior and Convent of Durham and the Prior of Coldingham are very extensive. They constitute him "their sovereign bailie and governor of all their lordship and lands of the house and barony of Coldingham—granting him full power and authority for them and in their name, to their use and profit, all their lands to sett, farms to raise, courts to hold, amercements to raise, trespassers to punish, briefs to execute, tenantry to recognise, the same tenants and tenantry to distrain and to hold till arrears be paid, and in general to do all things that by law and custom appertain

* We find the Prior of Durham exercising discipline upon delinquent monks at Coldingham. In 1453 there is a letter from him to the Prior of Coldingham, concerning one John Moorby, who disgraced the order by too much frequenting the houses of the laity and common taverns, and indulging in beer (*exercens cerevisiæ*, we owe the Lord Prior thanks for this phrase). John is recalled to Durham; and when it is represented to the Prior that he is in bad health (perhaps a consequence of his *exercise*) he is still ordered to come, but a carriage (*vectura*) is to be provided and a monk in good health sent with him. The Prior of Durham is to send another monk to Coldingham to supply his place.

Again, John Dorward and Robert Knoute are accused of strolling about the neighbourhood, and indulging in idle and offensive talk. They are not to be allowed to go out of the monastery without leave from the Prior, which is to be very sparingly granted; and a paternal letter is addressed to them by the Prior of Durham, pointing out the evil of their ways and enjoining amendment and submission to their own Prior.

to the office of governor and sovereign bailie." The Earl's stipend was to be one hundred pounds Scots.

It was soon found that Douglas's engagements would not allow him to perform his duties in person, and he devolved them upon Alexander Home, a member of one of the most powerful border families. This arrangement seems to have gone on for forty or fifty years, and then, as might have been expected in these lawless and unscrupulous times, the Homes intruded two members of their own family into the priory—Patrick Home, archdeacon of Teviotdale, and John Home, a canon of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar. Protests, of course, followed; remonstrances to the Bishop of Glasgow, in whose diocese Teviotdale was situated, to the Bishop of St. Andrews, who was John Home's diocesan as well as that of the Priory of Coldingham; appeals to Rome and to the Kings of England and Scotland. But the Homes kept possession for twenty years, when the dispute was settled in favour of Durham; though, as the next transaction proves, the Homes did not forego their claims.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, the history of the Priory of Coldingham becomes very obscure.* There appears no trace of any appointment of a Prior by the authorities at Durham later than 1469. It seems as if either, notwithstanding the ratification of Oll's appointment, the Abbot of Dunfermline ultimately gained the victory, or, what is more likely, the Homes bade defiance to both. In 1469, Matthew Wren was sent from Durham, and in his time it was that the usurpation of the Homes seemed at least to come to an end. The next assault on the priory came from the King of Scots. James III. had built a magnificent Chapel Royal at Stirling. Unfortunately he lacked funds wherewith to endow it, but these he thought might be provided by the suppression of some other religious house. The English priory on the border seemed, for several reasons, the most suitable for his purpose. Accordingly, in 1485, he obtained an Act of Parliament for the purpose. The scheme was to dissolve the priory; appropriate one-half

* In the accounts of the monastery we find many entries of sums paid for students and scholars at Oxford. Perhaps this was unique among Scottish monasteries. But the Abbey of Durham had a college of its own at Oxford, called Durham College. Being a monastic foundation, it fell at the Reformation. Sir Thomas Pope purchased the site and buildings, and founded Trinity College; which during the present century has given a Cardinal to the Roman Church, and three heads of houses to the University of Durham.

of the revenues to the support of the Chapel Royal, and with the other half to found and endow a collegiate church for secular canons at Coldingham. But these proceedings aroused the determined opposition of Lord Home and his kindred, who seem by this to have regarded Coldingham as in a great measure their own property. They violently drove away the Commissioners who came from the Archbishop of St. Andrews* to carry out the dissolution; and historians are agreed that this was one link in the chain of events which led to the rebellion which ended in the defeat and death of the unhappy King.

The events of the following reign seem to indicate that whether the patronage of Coldingham was nominally vested in the Abbot of Dunfermline or not, the real power was in the hands of the King. The Scottish Church had now become very corrupt. Its wealth was very great, and the Crown assumed the sole power of bestowing the greater preferments, such as bishoprics and abbacies, and many very unworthy men were intruded into the highest offices—men who took no care for the discharge of the duties of their calling—not only occupying civil offices, for which, in those days when the lay nobility were not only turbulent, but also very ignorant, there might be some excuse; but mingling in family feuds, not seldom appearing in the field. Their moral character besides was often very bad. They were great pluralists, it being quite the order of the day for one man to hold a bishopric and several abbacies at the same time.

Two appointments to the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews would almost seem to indicate that they were preparing the way for the Calvinistic Reformers, by proving beforehand that the office of bishop was quite superfluous. On a vacancy in the year 1497, James Stewart, Duke of Ross, the King's brother, a young man of twenty-one, was appointed Archbishop. He was also Chancellor of the Kingdom and Commendator of the Abbey of Dunfermline, and in that capacity would claim a right over the Priory of Coldingham. Deeds were dated in such a year of his administration, from which it may be inferred that he enjoyed the emoluments of his high office; but it is very doubtful whether he was ever consecrated. Indeed, he was removed by death before he attained the canonical age. After his decease, the See was kept vacant for some years, being intended for

* St. Andrews became an Archbishopric in 1472.

one who was then a mere child, Alexander Stewart, illegitimate son of James IV. His appointment was sanctioned by the Pope, at the instance of his father. He also was Chancellor of the kingdom, at the age of sixteen, and Commendator of Dunfermline and Coldingham. He is said to have been a youth of great promise, and his father took great pains with his education, sending him abroad for that purpose. He attracted the esteem and affection of the great Erasmus. But he perished with his father in the fatal field of Flodden before he attained the age of twenty. The priory now came into the hands of another prelate, Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray. He seems to have been a friend of the Homes, and on attaining the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, he gave it up that a member of that family might succeed. David Home was afterwards murdered by Hepburn of Hailes: a curious illustration of the fearful state of the Scottish border, and perhaps, also, an indication of the wealth of this piece of preferment. At length, when the Reformation came, about 1560, all the Scottish monastic foundations fell, and, with the rest, Coldingham. The title of Prior continued to be held by various laymen as their claim to the property of the priory, and this usage did not cease till some time in the seventeenth century. But the priory was entirely secularized, and, as might be supposed, the Homes came in for a large share of the spoils.

What befel the church and monastic buildings at the time of the Reformation we know not, but there are two periods on record at which they must have sustained much damage. James V. died in 1542, leaving his daughter, the unfortunate Queen Mary, a child of a few days old. Two years after a fierce contest took place between the Regent Arran and his opponents, in which Coldingham was besieged by the Regent, and battered by his cannon. It was a time when there was no security for churches. Just before this a great tumult had taken place in Dundee, when the religious houses there and the neighbouring Abbey of Lindores were destroyed. At the same time Henry VIII. was wooing the baby Queen for his son Edward in a very rough fashion—at the point of the sword—and his hostility was especially directed against the abbeys, because he had been unable to prevail on his nephew, the king just deceased, to follow the example he had set in England in seizing on the property of the monasteries.

It was then that Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh were irretrievably ruined. Rather more than a century after, Cromwell invaded Scotland, and gained his great victory over the Scots at Dunbar, near Coldingham, and then the priory again suffered most severely. There was at that time a massive square tower at the north-west angle of the transept, and in this the occupants of the priory defended themselves for some days. But the cannon of the besiegers having rendered it insecure they were forced to surrender. The tower continued to stand in its shaken condition till about 1776, when it fell. There were old people still alive in 1836 who remembered it, and represented it as having been about 90 feet high. After the surrender, as it would seem in very wantonness, the enemy placed a quantity of gunpowder in the church, by the igniting of which the south wall was levelled with the ground. It was rebuilt in the style of the time, when the church was refitted as a place of worship in 1662.* It is hardly needful to add that, as in all similar cases, the buildings were treated as a quarry of ready-hewn stone by the people of the town and the neighbourhood for nearly a century and a half. All this, and especially the last-mentioned circumstance, amply accounts for the remains of Coldingham Priory being so very scanty. The conventual buildings have almost entirely perished, and the north and east sides of the choir, with a few poor fragments of the nave, are all that remain of what was once a very beautiful church. The choir has been repaired by the erection of a south and west wall, and the addition of a roof, and now serves as the parish church. It is evidently regarded with pride, and is most sedulously cared for by the minister and his heritors. The churchyard is a pattern of neatness and good order. Unfortunately, the *débris* of the ruins have raised it far above the natural level, and having been long used as a cemetery, it is perhaps impossible now to ascertain the dimensions and arrangements of the nave by any excavations. Nevertheless, these scanty remains are full of interest.

The choir, or rather what remains of it, is extremely beautiful. It has no aisles, and belongs to the Transition period, when the old Romanesque or Norman was changing into the First Pointed or Early English. On the outside, there is an arcade of semicircular arches,

* Carr's *History of Coldingham*, p. 312, and note—a book of great research—to which the writer has been considerably indebted.

above which are pointed windows with rich mouldings. In the inside there are two arcades, one above the other, the upper one having a pointed window at every third arch. In both arcades the arches are divided by shafts with capitals, no two of which are alike. In the upper arcade there is behind these shafts, in the thickness of the wall, a passage which runs all round. The lower arcade was, till a late period, almost hidden by galleries or lofts, and the shafts had been cut away to give more room for the pews, by which every corner of the church was filled. But the lofts have been removed, the shafts and everything else have been restored as carefully as possible. The minister was desirous that the interior of the south wall should have been decorated in the same way as the north wall, but the expense, which would have been very great, seems to have frightened the heritors; though Scottish heritors, as a rule, cannot be called unduly parsimonious with their churches. It would certainly have been a mistake to have continued the arcades over the interior of the west wall, for, while there is little doubt that the south side was formerly ornamented like the north, there was no wall anciently at the west, but an arch opening into the choir from the transept. There is nothing unsightly about the south and west walls, which are built of excellent ashlar. It is indeed most satisfactory to see an ancient church and the surrounding cemetery so well cared for. Some fragments still left show that the nave was Norman, and remind us of Lindisfarne, which is a likeness of Durham, though somewhat later. The choir as it stands is clearly subsequent to the time of the foundation of the monastery. A question suggests itself—Have we the original choir? It was usual to build the choir first, and hence we should infer that the choir had been rebuilt. Yet, belonging as it does, to the Transition period, it seems strange that it should have been rebuilt so soon. Was the original choir destroyed at an early period, perhaps in some of the frequent disturbances on the border?*

* In 1854, in the process of the repairs of the church, which have been so admirably carried out, the foundations of a more ancient building were discovered. Now the character of the architecture of the present church, especially of the remains of the nave, make it all but certain that it was coeval with the foundation of the Benedictine Priory in 1098. On the other hand, there is no doubt that St. Ebba's Monastery stood on the promontory which bears her name. The words of the Venerable Bede, in describing St. Cuthbert's nocturnal penance, seem decisive:—"Ille egressus monasterio . . . descendit ad mare, ejus ripæ monasterium idem superpositum erat." The newly discovered foundations, therefore, do not belong to Ebba's Monastery. What then are they? We must remember that, between the

From measurements taken when the foundations were more easily traceable than they are now, it appears that the nave was of equal dimensions with the choir, viz. : 90 feet by 25. The transept 41 feet by 34. Some years ago the foundations of an octagonal building, supposed to be the chapter house, were discovered about 30 yards from the north-east corner. Chapter houses were sometimes very small—there is a remarkable instance at Llandaff Cathedral—but this one seems to be at a very great distance from the church, though we cannot now tell what there was between. A print of the year 1836 shows a modern belfry on the west gable. This has been removed, no doubt on account of its incongruity, and the bell now hangs on the gable of a somewhat stately south porch.

Towards the end of August last, a party of gentlemen connected with the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society paid a visit to Coldingham on a most lovely day. They left Berwick about ten o'clock in the forenoon and drove to Coldingham, by Ayton, through a most beautiful country. They proceeded first to St. Abb's Head, and visited the site of the ancient monastery. There they were joined by the Rev. David Munro, the minister of Coldingham, who made the party welcome to his parish, and showed them every attention. After this they retraced their steps to Coldingham, and visited the remains of the Benedictine priory with so much interest, that it was the general feeling that the place deserved another visit, and a somewhat more minute inspection than the time permitted on that occasion. The President of the Durham Society proposes to make another visit next year, and this Society could not do better than join their Durham friends in an excursion to a place of such beauty and of so very great interest.

destruction of Ebba's Monastery by fire, about 685, and the foundation of the Benedictine priory, 400 years elapsed, and, though we cannot trust the legend of the second Ebba and her nuns, we may well believe the monastery was re-built. The site may even then have been changed. Anyhow, during four centuries there was ample time for a church to have been built on the present site and destroyed, wholly or partially, perhaps more than once, by the Danes. But the discoveries of 1854 seem to make it certain that the present site was not occupied for the first time in 1098.



Styca of EANBALD (from Coldingham).

XVI.—ROMAN HORSE TRAPPINGS,
COMPARED WITH MODERN EXAMPLES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
ROMAN BRONZES LATELY FOUND AT SOUTH SHIELDS AND CHESTERS
(*Cilurnum*).

BY JOHN PHILIPSON, M.I.M.E.

[Read on the 26th November, 1885.]

SOME time ago Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., one of our secretaries, brought under my notice some objects that had been discovered within the eastern rampart of the Roman Castrum at South Shields and which he believed were Roman horse trappings. Mr. Blair asked me to describe their uses, and determine their proper positions in the accoutrements of a horse. This I have attempted, but being sensible of the acquirements that are necessary to do justice to such a subject, I have some diffidence in submitting my opinions to the members, and I therefore claim their indulgence for my communication, as, although an old member of the Society, I prefer rather to listen than to take an active part in the discussions. I am, moreover, actuated by a desire to create an interest in the harness of the ancients; a subject that antiquaries seem to have passed over for more ambitious studies.

Such relics as those possess an unfailing fund of interest for me, inasmuch as, in one of my own particular branches of manufacture, I am enabled by their means to institute a comparison between the workmanship of the Romans and that of the age in which we live, and to judge whether our progress in some arts, is not more seeming than real.

If the identity of such objects as horse trappings could be established with sufficient certainty, an expert would be able to designate exactly how the horses of the Romans were harnessed, as

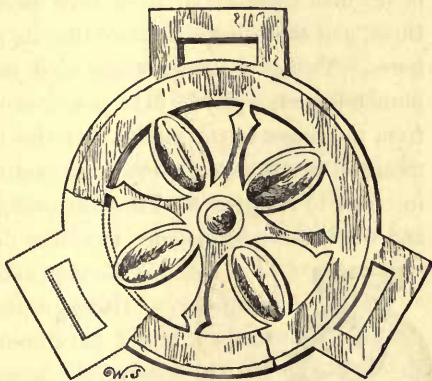
their form would show him how and where the component parts had been connected. But it is necessary to approach the subject with caution, seeing that so many objects of bronze, for which no other use can be assigned, are without hesitation, described as horse trappings. This is to be regretted as it causes confusion.

On the other hand, it frequently occurs that conjecture specifies quite a different use for such antiquities, while, if they were carefully examined, and it was remembered that bronze was the favourite metal of the Romans for making such objects, and if due allowance was made for the decay after so many centuries of concealment, they would be found almost identical with modern horse furniture.

The antiquities submitted by Mr. Blair are six in number (see Nos. 1—4), two of them (3 and 4) being in duplicate.

These objects have been lent, with other remains from South Shields, to the Black Gate Museum, which it is hoped will soon become the repository of all our chief local antiquities.

No. 1, which evidences high class workmanship, is an ornamental boss or shield of circular form, with raised perforated centre of wheel pattern. On the circumference there are three square loops. This I believe to be the breast ornament of a horse, one of those decorations termed *phalerae*—bosses, discs, or crescents of metal—



No. 1.

which are seldom mentioned in the singular number. There is a note in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*¹ drawing attention to the fact that it resembled very closely an object found at Bologna, and described by the Count G. Gozzadini² (see No. 5, p. 207). This similarity gave rise to the remark that it seemed singular that this remote castrum should be connected, by the discovery of similar objects, with an Etruscan burial place in Italy. Now, in my opinion, this similarity tends to con-

¹ Vol. XXXVI., pp. 109 and 110.

² *Di Sepolcreto Etrusco scoperto presso Bologna*, p. 25.

firm the correctness of my views, as the Romans borrowed the use of phalerae from the Etruscans. Although these ornaments were worn as marks of distinction by Roman soldiers, and even by the Negro slaves of the more opulent, they are more commonly referred to as being attached to the horse's bridle, where they were worn as pendants, according to Dr. Smith, so as to produce a terrific effect when shaken by the motion of the horse; but if phalerae were often strapped down, as is evident by the loops projecting from the rim, how could they be shaken so as to produce noise?

We find phalerae often mentioned by the Latin writers. We are told that the phalerae hung down the breast. Ramsay in his *Roman Antiquities*, tells us that they were ornaments attached to horse furniture or to the accoutrements of the rider.

The number of loops projecting from the rim of the Shields specimen, enables us to determine the manner of its use, *i.e.*, whether it belonged to the *horse* or its *rider*. If it had been worn on the breast of the man there would have been four loops, whereas there are only three, and these loops indicate that its position was the breast of the horse. Two of the loops would hold the straps which are shown by numberless examples to have passed over the shoulders of the horse, from the breast to the saddle, and the third would have served as a means of attachment for the strap passing from the breast between the fore-legs to the girths. Thus the ornament would be held in position and would serve for defence as well as decoration.



No. 2.



No. 3.

No. 2 is another well-designed ornament of similar character. Although there is only provision for two straps it might have been used for the same purpose as No. 1, because the breast straps of a horse may be variously arranged, and it is evident that the Romans had several methods. It is surprising to find a remnant of leather attached to the smaller hole.

There were two bronzes like No. 3 found. They have undoubtedly been used with a strap, but I believe at one end only, and I conjecture them to have been employed in fastening the ends of a belt, as the circular extremity appears shaped to receive and hold a knob. (See No. 124, Plate XXI., for a modern example.)

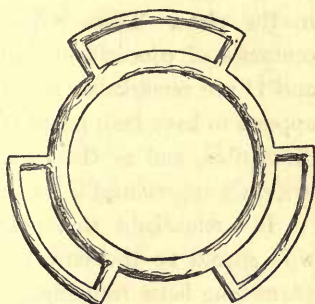
There were also two specimens found exactly similar to No. 4. It is a very interesting device and has probably been used for ornamenting harness, as three pins project at the back. It somewhat resembles one of late Celtic style in the Duke of Northumberland's collection. (See Catalogue,¹ No. 731, p. 146, and also Plate XVIII, No. 55.)



No. 4.

No. 7 (Plate XVIII.) is, without doubt, a rosette belonging to a horse's bridle, and closely resembles one found at Cilurnum. (See No. 15, Plate XIX.)

The Romans used these decorations in abundance. On all the horses seen on ancient monuments which a learned writer has designated "irresistible evidence, which no future historian can controvert, because they are not liable



No. 5.

to the corruptions and uncertainties introduced by copyists into manuscripts," we find a profusion of these objects; as many as four being used on a single bridle, one on each side as is our present custom, one on the forehead and one on the lower part of the face.

No. 6 is the remains of a spur. The similarity in form, particularly at the ends, between this and some modern spurs is very marked.

No. 6a is a large ornament resembling a solitaire. The front has been enamelled, of which some portions remain. There is a distinguishing feature in the design of this and of Nos. 2 and 4. The centre lines of each terminate in three points. This has likely been used to decorate or secure some portion of wearing apparel, although there are many parts of harness in which it could have been utilized.

When examining Mr. Blair's bronzes it occurred to me that I had seen some of a very similar kind amongst the antiquities at Chesters, and by the kindness of John Clayton, Esq., F.S.A., I am permitted to produce drawings of these relics which were discovered at Cilurnum (Chesters), and which have not, to my knowledge, been previously described. There is a striking similarity between some of them and those belonging to Mr. Blair which cannot fail to be observed. No. 8

¹ *A Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities, chiefly British, at Alnwick Castle*, edited by J. C. Bruce, LL.D.

is presumably a spoon, and is very well preserved. It does not, however, concern us at present; but being a part of the same find is included on this sheet. Very similar to No. 792 in the Alnwick Catalogue, page 146.

Nos. 9, 10, and 11 are pendent ornaments similar to the modern forehead or face-drops, and those which are occasionally used on the *quarters* and *neck* of a horse. Both the backs and fronts are shown in the plate. These relics have suffered but little by seventeen centuries of concealment, all being in excellent condition. Nos. 10 and 11 are remarkable for the designs on their face-sides. No. 11 appears to have been inlaid or enamelled. The monogram S is plainly discernible, and as the surface has been enamelled or inlaid it has evidently appertained to the appointments of some distinguished person.

It is remarkable that a Greek sophist in the household of Severus's wife should be the only classical author who speaks of the art of enamelling horse trappings. He said, "The barbarians who live in the ocean pour such colours on heated brass, and they adhere to it and become as hard as stone, and thus preserve the designs that are made in them."

No. 12 (Plate XIX.) is a portion of a rosette.

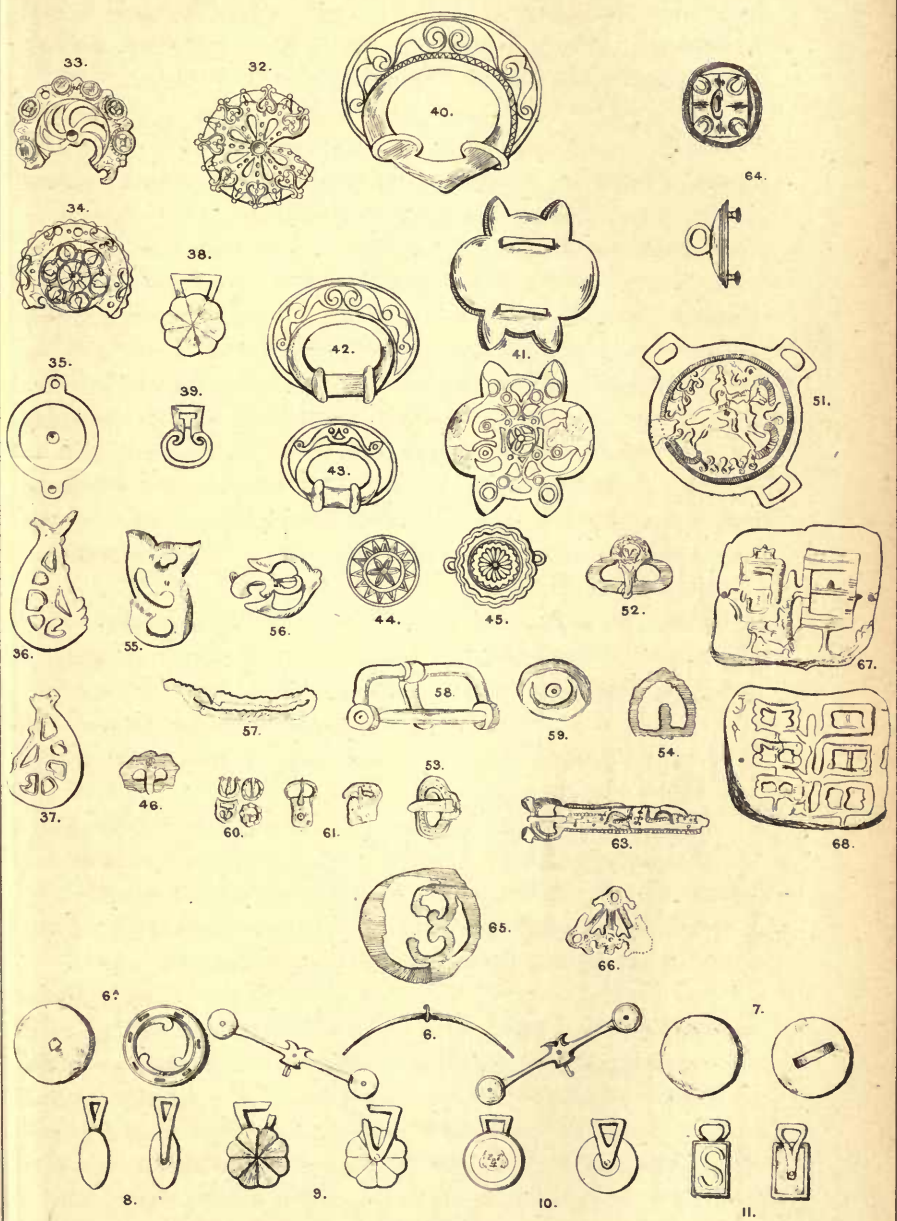
Nos. 13, 14, and 15 are rosettes. The back views show the loops for straps on the two latter. They differ from the modern rosette in having the loops cast solid. A portion of a bronze stud adheres to the back of No. 15, which, in design, somewhat resembles the rosette in Mr. Blair's collection. No. 13 has been fastened with a stud or pin, and may have been used to decorate a breast strap.

No. 16*a* and *b* is a circular case $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with two apertures measuring $\frac{5}{8}$ inch by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The most probable use of this would be to hold in position two straps that crossed each other.

Nos. 17 and 24 are ornamental nails or rivets, resembling No. 113 (Plate XXI.). These are largely used in modern harness.

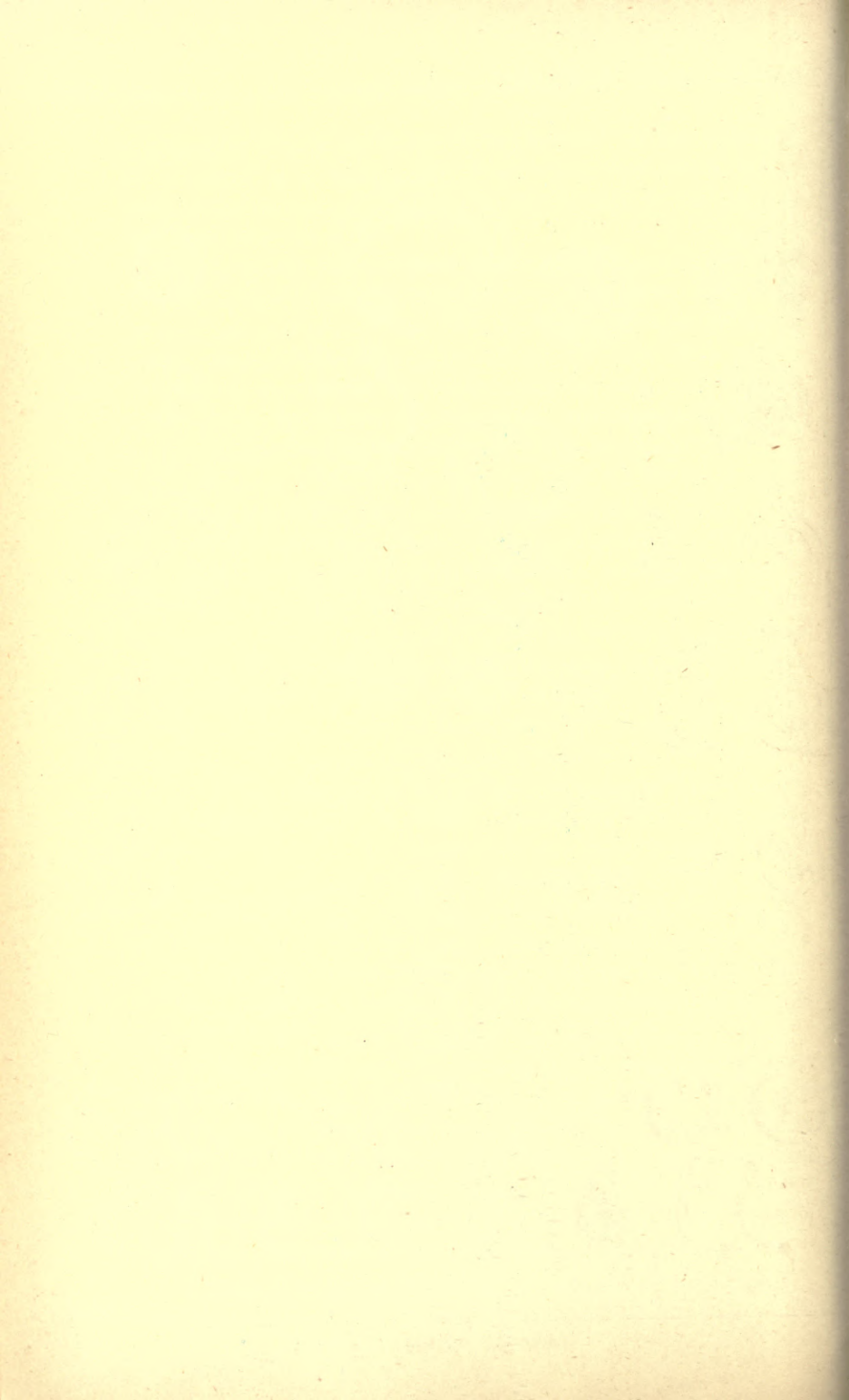
Though much corroded, No. 18¹ is one of the most pleasing specimens in the collection. This bit, which is almost intact, of which each side is shown, is a facsimile of the snaffle bit, the simplest and most humane that can be placed in a horse's mouth. It is agreeable to find that in the time of Antoninus Pius the Romans treated their horses kindly, and knew how to cultivate that vigour and activity which is everywhere portrayed in the horses depicted on ancient monuments.

¹ The same bit is again shown at No. 69, before the mud and rust came off.



J. Philipson del.

ANCIENT HORSE TRAPPINGS.



No. 19 has the appearance of a double stud, but by the loop at the back it would serve as a rosette. To me, however, this relic, which shows no signs of decay, does not appear so suitable for harness as it would be for securing some portion of wearing apparel, such as the toga.

No. 20 is a large ornament that has either been used on the breast or quarter-cloth of a horse, and of remarkable beauty in design.

Nos. 21, 22, 29, and 31 are specimens of the *turret* which, at the present day, is fixed in the saddle and through which the reins pass, but which, in Roman harness, was secured in the straps that passed round the body or the neck of the horse. No. 31 is slightly ornamented. The inside of the ring of No. 29 is considerably worn by the rubbing of the reins. These turrets were probably fastened to the saddle or backband by a loop of leather.

No. 23 is a mass of studs and other things intermingled and adhering together. In one part we observe a broken piece corrugated like the hilt of a sword, and suggesting the idea that the whole of these metallic objects had appertained to the sword belt of a Roman soldier.

Nos. 25, 26, and 28. The two former rings are bronze, but 28 is stone; 25 is similar in shape and size to the ivory and metal rings now commonly used for coupling the reins of a pair of horses. It may be added, however, that in harness, rings of this form are used for breast straps and for various other purposes.

No. 27 appears to be a portion of some ornamental device like No. 20.

No. 30 is another fanciful ornament somewhat resembling a dolphin. It also possesses pins at the back for fixing it in position.

Nos. 8 to 31 were discovered during the excavations at CILURNUM, carried on so diligently and with such liberality by Mr. Clayton. No. 16, 18, 19, 20, 29 and 31 have been found within the last three months.

Some interesting specimens in very perfect preservation have several times attracted my attention in the Black Gate Museum. The precise locality of their discovery does not appear to be known, nor can I find that they have ever been brought under notice at any of our meetings. They are Roman horse trappings of bronze, and are represented on Plate XVIII.

Nos. 32, 33, and 34 are rosettes of chaste design, all exceedingly well executed.

No. 35 is a boss suitable for decorating the face-drop of a bridle.

Although Nos. 36 and 37 may have been used for harness; they are more probably the remains of fibulae.

Nos. 38 and 39 are two pendent ornaments that have, in all probability, been employed as face-drops.

It is to be observed that these specimens lack that pleasant aeruginous appearance to be found in the majority of bronzes, and which is so distinguishable in the South Shields and Chesters antiquities. I suppose, however, that they have been coated with a lacquer, or varnished, doubtless with a view of protecting them from the air.

On the same sheet are shown four objects described by Henry Harrod, Esq., F.S.A., in a letter to Mr. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Mr. Harrod supposed these remains, which were found at Westhall, a small village about three miles north-east of Halesworth, to be horse trappings, and his surmise was correct. Nos. 40, 42, and 43 are *turrets*. The designs evince considerable artistic skill. The provision for the leather loops is very plain. No. 41 is a rosette, of which two views are shown.

There are also two rosettes and a buckle, all Roman bronzes, mentioned in the third volume of Montfaucon's work. They are numbered 44, 45, and 46.

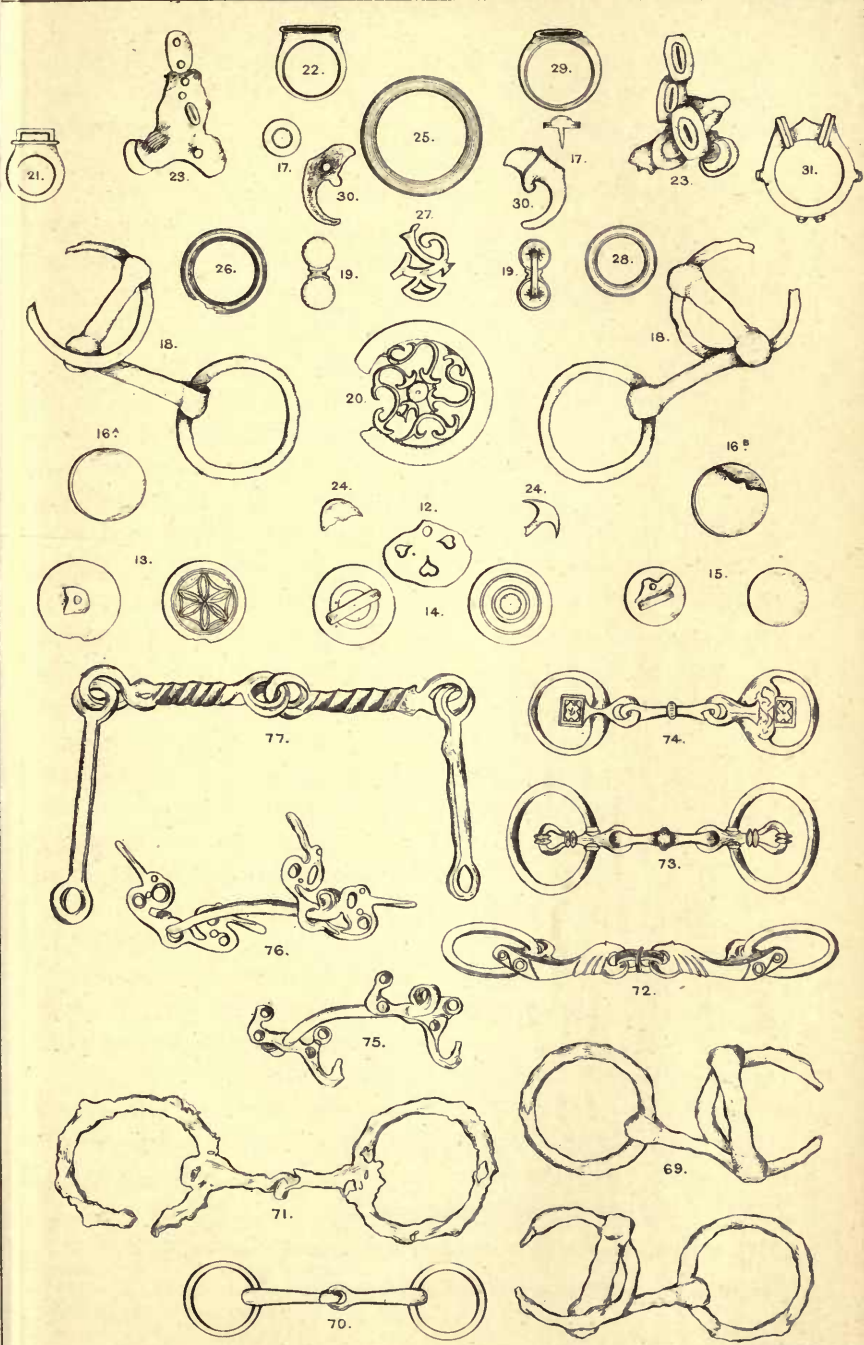
I have also reproduced some equestrian figures in order that I may indicate in what part of the accoutrements of the horse and his rider such ornaments as I have described would be used. (Plate XX.)

By No. 47, an equestrian figure of Alexander, we obtain a very clear idea of the arrangement of rosettes on the bridle, and of the *phalerae* on the horse.

The decoration of the horse's head is also clearly distinguished in No. 48, taken from a drawing of a statue of Nonius Balbus.

No. 49, a sketch taken from Dr. Overbeck's *Pompeii*, shows the rein turrets and the ornaments that were used on the bridle.

In Professor Duncan's *Cæsar* are shown two horses, each having four broad straps connected by a circular ornament on the breast. These ornaments, shown by Figure 50, would have four loops instead of three as in the Shields specimen.



J Philipson del.

EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT BITS, &c.

For confirmation of the opinions I had formed and which I have ventured to submit to this meeting, I have referred to various authorities for examples of similar or nearly similar bronzes, some of which are shown on Plate XVIII.

No. 51 was obtained from an Alemannic grave at Seengen on the lake of Hallwyl, Canton Aargau, Switzerland, and is described in the *Archæologia*.¹ This disc, though more costly and elaborate in workmanship, has evidently been used for a similar purpose to that discovered at South Shields. The framework is of bronze, with a raised outer rim projecting, and a central plate of silver exhibiting in *repoussé* work an armed knight on his steed, but owing to the damaged condition of the plate, it was not altogether easy to determine details. Unlike the Shields disc, the one under notice had originally had four square loops projecting from the rim but only three remained. Although it might have been worn on the breast of the rider serving as a kind of thorax, Mr. Wylie believed, and with apparent good reason, that it was just such an ornament as I have mentioned, but he said the chief argument against it having been used as a frontlet or breast ornament of the horse was, that they should have expected to have found the remains of the *horse*, which was not the case.

Nos. 52 and 53, are two bronze buckles, apparently Saxon, found near Dieppe. The designs are remarkable, particularly that of the larger. The upper part of the tongue bears a grotesque head within a zig-zag border.

No. 54, is described in Vol. XLVII of the *Archæologia*. It was found 15 feet 2 inches deep, during the excavations at Cæsar's Camp, as was 57.

No. 55, is the ornament of late Celtic style, found in the Roman station of Bremenium, and which I referred to as somewhat resembling in design one of Mr. Blair's.²

Nos. 58 and 59 are taken from Montfaucon. The learned author surmises that the buckle has been used in connection with a chariot. It is larger than an ordinary buckle for personal wear, and has probably been employed at the ends of the traces or on other large straps. No. 59 is the head of a large nail supposed to have been used in some

¹ Vol. XLIV., p. 100, "An example of Phaleræ and other Antiquities from Switzerland," by W. M. Wylie, F.S.A.

² See No. 791 in the Catalogue of the Aluwick Castle Collection, page 146, and described as a bronze ornament.

part of a chariot. It may have been, however, that it was used as an ornamental nail in a harness pad or saddle, in the same manner as the rivets that are used at the present time.

No. 60 is a collection of buckles of different sizes and designs from Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. These would be used for the smaller straps of harness.

For those numbered 61, I am indebted to the *Collectanea Antiqua* of Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

Fig. 63 is taken from the catalogue of antiquities at Alnwick Castle. This is an excellent example of horse furniture belonging to the late Celtic period. The design of the buckle is rare. The horse's head on either side of the outer rim leaves little room for uncertainty as to its use.

Figs. 62 and 65 having some bearing on our subject, I am induced to reproduce them although they were found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Stowling, in Kent, by John Brent, Esq., F.S.A. No. 62 is a bronze buckle, and No. 65, a large circular bronze ornament with a design in the centre like the Arabic numeral 3. Mr. Brent believed this ornament to belong to the girdle.

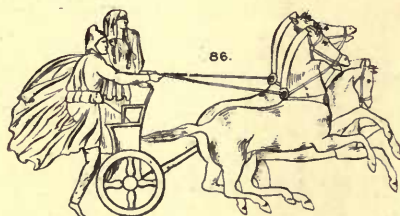
No. 64 is described by Mr. Roach Smith, in Vol. IV. *Collectanea Antiqua*. Both the plan and section of this relic are shown. Mr. Smith draws attention to the remarkable cross upon it. He also adds that the inside of the ring is much worn, as if by the constant attrition of a chain or thong. This has evidently served the same end as the modern turret which is attached to the pad or saddle and through which the reins pass.

Fig. 66 represents a bronze ornament found at Carnac, and described by Mr. James Miln at page 95 of *Archæological Researches*. This specimen of fine workmanship forms an equilateral triangle, and has probably been used as an ornament for the side of a pad or saddle.

The horse bit found at *Cilurnum*, Nos. 18 and 69 (Plate XIX.), being such a truly remarkable specimen, has led me to search through the works of our greatest authorities, for antiquities of a like nature.

I have been successful in finding a great variety discovered at different times and places, but so far as my experience goes, there is only one that bears any similitude to this interesting relic, and that is the ancient British horse bit, No. 71.¹ It was found at Hamden Hill,

¹ See page 89 of the Duke of Northumberland's Catalogue.



J. Philipson, del.

EXAMPLES OF THE ANCIENT USE OF HORSE TRAPPINGS.

(THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY M^{rs} JOHN PHILIPSON.)

near the village of Stoke-under-Hamden, with fragments of British chariots by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., F.R.S. The ancients do not appear to have progressed so far in the art of cruelty to animals as we have. Their bits display a great diversity in shape and size, but, none of them possess that modern instrument of exquisite torture, the "high port." For the sake of comparison with the *Cilurnum* bit, No. 69, I have represented the modern snaffle, No. 70. I need not comment upon the resemblance, one is almost a facsimile of the other.

No. 72 is an elegant specimen belonging to the late Celtic or early iron period. It was found in Ireland, and is numbered 470 in the Duke of Northumberland's catalogue. Though elaborate in design, it would not prove very hurtful to the mouth of a horse.

Fig. 73 represents a bronze bit that was found in fragments on the Duke of Northumberland's Stanwick Estate. It is now in the British Museum. A turret was also found, something like No. 31.

No. 74 is a bronze bit, presumed to have belonged to Celtic horse trappings. It is described by Dr. Smith in Volume XV. of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, but I find that in *The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology* for 1881, Dr. Anderson, in speaking of the Celtic art, refers to this bit as exhibiting that art in a very striking manner. There is a marked peculiarity about it, which is that the loops of the cheek rings have been cast with the loops of the mouthpiece, an operation implying technical skill and great experience of complicated moulding.

Nos. 75 and 76, are bronzes taken from ancient graves at *Palestrina* and *Cervetra*.

No. 77, although simple in form, is cumbrous, and the most primitive looking of the whole. It was found in France, and is described in Vol. XXXV. of the *Archæologia*. From the large size of this bit it is inferred that it was not only used for a large horse but by a very powerful man. The plan of twisting the mouthpiece is practised at the present day.

On Plate XX. I have reproduced some drawings of figures taken from Trajan's Column,

In No. 78 we are able to discern the position occupied by the sword of the cavalry soldier, and it may justly be inferred that such studs as were found at *Cilurnum*, would be employed to secure the belt and straps by which it was suspended.

In No. 79, the pendent ornaments of a trichotomous form attached to the neck-straps and breast-bands are very plainly seen.

No. 80 shows us one of those split neck-straps, that would require an ornament with four loops to secure it.

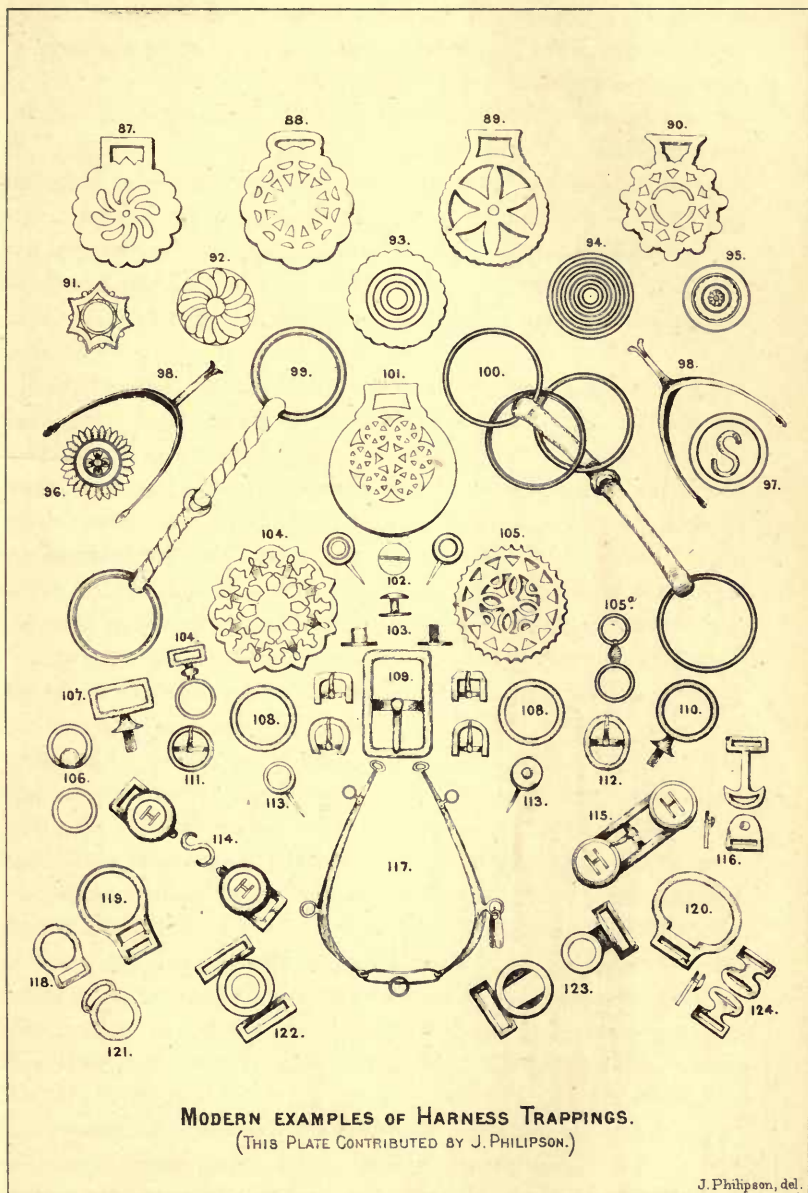
In the sketch No. 81, the decorations of the bridle, breast, and quarter-straps are clearly shown.

No. 84 shows the bridle of a Roman cavalier's horse, on which the rosettes are plainly depicted. No. 82, although a mediæval example, will show the continuance of the custom. No. 83 is almost the only example I have been able to find where the horses are shown with neck collars and *hames*, which would necessitate the use of kidney links, such as No. 57 (Plate XVIII).

By No. 86, we find that in some instances the reins passed through or around a circular object at the top of the neck-strap instead of through turrets on the saddle. On ancient Egyptian monuments a precisely similar arrangement may frequently be observed.

For the sake of comparison, Plate XXI. shows modern horse trappings similar in size and shape to many of those found at Shields and at Chesters. Chief among those I would draw attention to the bit, to the various rosettes and hanging ornaments, and to the rein turrets. Their resemblance to the ancient examples is so great that it need not be dwelt upon. With the outline and design, however, the similarity ends, as under the same conditions the modern horse trappings would not exist more than a fractional part of the time that has elapsed since the Romans withdrew from Britain. That the ancients were far advanced in the art of moulding, and cunning in the composition of their bronzes, is testified by the statuary of Rhodes, Delphi, and Athens. The ancient method of casting buckles is evidenced by Figs. 67 and 68 (Plate XVIII.), which is a sketch of stone moulds, described at page 125, Vol. I., of the *Proceedings* of the Scottish Society. The metal from which such objects were formed would, I believe, be an alloy composed of about 90 per cent. copper and 10 per cent. tin, to which latter metal ancient bronzes owed their best properties.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to prove that the bronzes found at South Shields and at *Cilurnum* are horse trappings, and to indicate what their specific uses have been. The employment of such ornaments was not confined to the Romans.



Similar decorations were used for horse trappings many centuries before the Christian era, from the time of Jehu, in fact. Jehu, the Son of Nimshi, ascended the throne about 885 B.C., and paid tribute to one of the Assyrian kings, and it is evident from the sculptures discovered by Mr. Austen Layard, M.P., Colonel Rawlinson, and others, that the Assyrians in the time of this king, whatever his name may have been, not only used rosettes in various parts of their harness, but used also ivory and mother-of-pearl studs in large numbers for decorating the trappings of their horses. The horse furniture of the Assyrians would appear to have been of the most elaborate and costly character, richly embroidered, and hung with a profusion of bells, rosettes, and tassels.

Mr. Layard gives in one of his works a very fine example from a bas-relief at Kouyunjik, from which we gather that, in addition to the rosettes that are invariably found on the bridles, the neck-bands and breast-plates or collars of Assyrian horses were profusely ornamented with these studs. Hanging from the neck-bands and reins, down by the shoulder of the horse, we frequently observe a pendent object, somewhat resembling the modern face-drop or trace-bearer, embellished by a large rosette or star of metal, as Mr. Layard terms it.

Although a great deal more might be said upon the subject of Roman horse trappings, I will not pursue the subject further to-night.

My object in trespassing upon your good nature has been to give a little more prominence to those remains which have been found in such numbers, and I venture to express a hope that my humble effort may result in other communications regarding objects of a similar nature that have been discovered in this neighbourhood.

The modern examples (Plate XXI.) comprise Nos. 87, 88, 89, and 90, ornaments for the front of bridle, and at present used for dray cart harness, &c. ; 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, and 97, designs of bridle rosettes ; 101, 104, and 105, falls or ornaments for the breast of a dray horse ; 98, a modern spur ; 99 and 100, modern snaffle and double ringed bit ; 102 and 103, saddle rivets or studs ; 104 and 105, swivels ; 106, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, and 124, modern swivels for men's belts or straps ; 109, 111, and 112, buckles ; 108, rings ; 117, hames and kidney links ; 107 and 110, turrets for pads.

XVII.—ON THE NAMES CORSTOPITUM AND COLECHESTER.

BY RICHARD OLIVER HESLOP.

[Read on the 25th November, 1885.]

THE recondite paper of Dr. Embleton, "Unde derivatur Corstopitum?" (*Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. XI., N.S., p. 137), reopens a question which has exercised the minds of antiquaries from an early period. In the light of modern philological research, it might be thought that the last word had been said upon the subject; but there are some considerations which suggest reflection as to the etymology of this singular place-name.

John Horsley, in a note (*Britannia Romana*, London, 1732, p. 397, note), refers to Dr. Gale's MSS., and says, "The learned doctor supposes the name to be taken from the CORISOPITENSES, in Gaul. For he says (p. 9), '*Coriosopitum civitas erat in Gallia Lugdunensi tertia, quæ et scribitur Corisopitum.*'"

Dr. Embleton has most ingeniously supported this supposition of Dr. Gale, and holds that the names of Corisopitum, in Armorica, and of Corstopitum on the Tyne, are variants one of the other. The settler in a strange land gives familiar names to the places in which he has settled, and, it is supposed by Dr. Embleton, that auxiliary troops, brought from Corisopitum in Gaul, gave the name of their birthplace to their new home. "In course of time the name of Corisopitum had been roughened into Corstopitum." *Thence* (replies Dr. Embleton to his query) is derived the Corstopitum of the first *Iter*.

But this theory, so ably demonstrated, fixes a date to the naming of the place—"an uncertain date," it is true—but, if the supposition be accepted, it follows that the naming of the place must date from the assumed arrival of Armorican auxiliaries, under Roman leadership, "probably about the time when Hadrian came to this island," says Dr. Embleton ("Unde derivatur," p. 142). The place itself "may have been founded by Agricola" (p. 138).

The coincidence of a Corisopitum in Gallia, and a Corstopitum on the Tyne is a remarkable one, but synonymous place-names are not singular. Instances of such are sufficiently familiar, and they do not necessarily require us to explain their existence by reference to such an immigration as is now being considered.

There are some points worthy of examination before we admit even the possibility of an Armorican origin of the name as it appears on Tyne-side. We may not limit the history of Corstopitum by the Roman conquest. We may yet further date back its importance as a place ; for it had its genesis at an epoch when the Neolithic man possessed the soil, and gave way before his Kymric conqueror, and an earlier than the Roman entered upon the goodly land and possessed it. It was, indeed, a fair inheritance, and one that must, in the earliest periods, have been made the home of man ! “The fine amphitheatre,” as the Rev. John Hodgson calls it (*Memoir*, by Rev. Jas. Raine, Vol. II. p. 172), in which Corbridge is situated presents advantages of soil and climate which have been recognised equally by the prehistoric as by the later peoples who have dwelt here. In the *levels* or *plains* which form the floor of the amphitheatre, we find rich earth to the depth of twenty feet in places, like the still deposit of an ancient lake bed. Eastwards, the sheltering uplands were at one time covered with the forest, stretching beyond Bywell, which, down to mediæval times, attracted the smiths and ironworkers, just as a coal-field now attracts the modern craftsman. To an early people the forest, as the haunt of wild animals, was at once the source of food, and fire, and clothing, whilst the broad Tyne brought an abundance of salmon to supplement, in its season, the other supplies of food. Let us see, then, in how far these natural resources were the means of attracting population.

If we follow the great Roman road as it goes northward from Ebchester (VINDOMORA), the descent from the ridge, separating the Derwent from the Tyne valley, is a direct course, but as the Watling Street reaches the Tyne valley bottom, it takes a sudden sheer to the west, and so keeps on by the south bank of the river from Riding Mill to the railway station at Corbridge, whence it curves northward to reach the many-piered bridge, which carried it over the river to the Roman city on the north bank of the Tyne. In doing this it passed to the west of the Roman station, and actually doubles upon itself in

its oblique passage of the river. Commenting upon this fact, Mr. Maclauchlan observes—"Had there been no *British* place of defence here," *i.e.*, in Corstopitum, "it does not seem probable that the Watling Street would have come so far to the westward; but having gained the level of the Tyne at Riding Mill, the rise to Farnley would have been avoided, the river would have been crossed near the tunnel, and the height to Stagshaw Bank have been gained diagonally, rather than as in the present manner, and without the nearly right-angle which it makes at Corbridge." (*Memoir written during a survey of the Watling Street in the years 1850 and 1851*, by Henry Maclauchlan.)

But this inference is no mere conjecture. You have here, says Canon Greenwell, a district rich in all the products necessary for life. It was a district likely to be occupied at a very early period, and so we find it to have been. The evidences of its pre-Roman occupation are seen in the very great numbers of stone implements which have been discovered. Besides these, a great number of bronze implements have been found; and there are a considerable number of burial places, whose age is attested by the finding of urns quite of a different character from Roman ones. (Address by Canon Greenwell to the Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, at Corbridge, July 23rd, 1884.)

Now, it is evident that a place of such importance, showing a continuity of occupation, not only in the early bronze age, but by the ruder men of Neolithic times, must have had a name before the Roman came. This name must have been so distinctive that it would not be improbable to assume that its root is preserved to us in the Latinized form in which it has come down to us. It is by no means so probable, on the other hand, that an archaic name would be superseded by the imported name of a town in Gaul, brought here by a troop of auxiliaries, or by never so many settlers, subsequent to its re-establishment as a post by the first Roman army of occupation.

Whatever conjecture may be hazarded as to the etymology of the Latinized name, it is well to consider that our single authority for the word Corstopitum is the fact of its insertion, by the way, in the Antonine Itinerary. The road tables are probably the work of compilers at Rome, from notes furnished them; and it is likely that all the copies were made from one original compilation. (Guest, *Origines Celticae*,

Vol. II.—“The four ways.”) If so, the accuracy of the officials in spelling outlandish names may be sometimes questionable, just as in later times our India Office has misspelt important place-names in the great eastern dependency. If then we may assume that the first syllable is rightly given, we may not be equally certain that the latter part of the word is correctly spelt in the *Iter*. Such a clerical error would render the etymology of the latter part of the word obscure, as we now find it.

There is another point to be noticed, [and that is the fact of *two* places, each bearing a distinctive place-name. There is the town of Corbridge as it stands, and there is the open field, in which stood the Roman city. The centre of the site, according to Mr. Maclauchlan's measurement, is 665 yards north-west by west of Corbridge Church tower. The two places are quite apart, and their separation is carefully marked in the local nomenclature. The Roman city is invariably known on the spot as COLECHESTER. It is never called *Corchester* by a native. It is to the pages of such as Gordon and Hutchinson that we owe the existence of the corrupt word *Corchester*. It is the more important that we should possess an accurate record of this fact, as we consider the former greatness of this site. It was about three times larger than the quadrangular sites of the *Pretenturæ* on the Wall. Maclauchlan describes it as “an irregular ellipse, with a transverse diameter of about 420 yards, and a conjugate of 280 yards. The area may have been about 22 acres” (Maclauchlan, *Memoir on Survey, supra*). This, then, was no mere temporary camp, but a city which, from the strategic advantage of its site, was from the first occupied in force; which grew in wealth; and which was held to the very eve of the Roman evacuation.

Dr. Bruce realises the bustle and stir of this Roman life, whose very trinkets and trappings have shown some simulacrum of their long dead owners. “The tokens of wealth and luxury round here,” he says, “are unusual in the region of the Wall.” “The station of Corstopitum,” he continues, “is situated on a sunny knoll, in a peculiarly fertile district. It is protected on the north by the Wall, and on the south by the broad expanse of the Tyne. Here, therefore, if anywhere in Northumberland, might those who had leisure and wealth find a secure retreat.” (Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D.,

F.S.A., *The Roman Wall*, 3rd edition, 1867, p. 340). Horsley says that Corstopitum "must have been abandoned before the writing of the *Notitia*," because it is nowhere mentioned in it (*Britannia Romana*, pp. 111 and 398). But the discovery of a coin of Theodosius on the spot, by the late Captain Walker (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, Vol. I., N.S., p. 171), suggests the possibility of its occupation to the end of the Roman dominion in this country. This, then, is the Station known to-day as Colechester, as distinguished from the adjacent town of Corbridge. In this connection it is much to be regretted that the Ordnance Survey perpetuates this altogether conjectural word, Corchester.

It is an easy way to explain the existence of two words, Colechester and Corbridge, by assuming that a simple linguistic change, attributable to the peculiarity of the Northumbrian throat, has degraded "Cor" into "Cole." "The corruption will not surprise those," says Mr. Maclauchlan, "who have observed the peculiar effect produced by the letter 'r' in the delivery of a native Northumbrian" (Maclauchlan, *Memoir, supra*). Now, as native Northumbrians, we must protest against misrepresentation. If there is one thing in our vernacular that we consider a strong point, it is this very sound of the "r." The Northumbrian rolls it as a sweet morsel, not under his tongue, but from the great deep of his throat. He is not likely to cease to cherish it; and he is altogether unlikely to euphonize it by trippingly sounding it as a labial. A Corbridge hind, who to-day distinguishes his village as Corbrig from the adjoining Colechester, uses the names by which his forefathers discriminated between the two places. The antiquity of this distinction has been carefully noted by Mr. Longstaffe; and as far back as the twelfth century we have records of both names. (*Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. II., N.S., pp. 33-38.)

Whilst Northumberland was still a franchise of the kingdom of Scotland, there is a grant of Dilston by Henry the Earl, which is indited thus—"Henricus filius regis Scottorum, &c. Salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et reddidisse Willelmo filio Alfrici *de Corbrugia*." This Scottish grant is confirmed by the King of England, who styles Fitz Alfric "*de Colubrugia*"—A.D. 1128-30—(Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part 2, Vol. III., p. 16). There we have *Cor* and *Col* used apparently as interchangeable names in two contemporaneous documents, one of which is witnessed in Rouen, and the other in Roxburgh.

In the "Placita de quo Warranto" we have both Corbrigg and Colebrigg again so used. (Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, Part 3, Vol. I., *passim*.) Again, there is a coin of Prince Henry extant, for the notice of which we are indebted to Mr. Longstaffe, and it establishes the fact of a mint having been in existence in Corbridge. The initial syllable of the legend reads "COL" (Longstaffe, *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. VII., N.S., p. 72). There are evidently two names thus early in use, and they appear to have been indifferently applied to designate the town. How much this indiscriminate use is owing to clerklly inaccuracy we cannot tell; the fact to be noted is, that there were thus early two names in existence.

The present day distinction between Corbridge (the inhabited town) and Colechester (the suburban field) is specially noted in an early deed—A.D. 1356—(quoted *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. II., N.S., p. 37), where conveyance is made of "half an acre in the field of Corbrigg, viz., in Colchestr." In quoting this deed, Mr. Longstaffe calls special attention to the spelling of Colechester, and adds significantly, "Here is an early notice of the Roman station. Once for all, I would earnestly beg of our etymologists and Roman antiquaries to study our collections of old charters very carefully."

When, therefore, we have found that the initial sounds of *Cor* and *Cole* have, from remote periods to this day, maintained accurate and distinctive meanings, may we not conclude that this is not one word, passing through a course of linguistic change in transmission, as has been alleged, but that here are *two* root words? "The names of places," says Dr. Isaac Taylor, "are conservative of the more archaic forms of a living language, or they embalm for us the guise and fashion of speech in eras the most remote. These topographic words, which float down upon the parlance of successive generations of men, are subject in their course to less phonetic abrasion than the other elements of a people's speech" (*Words and Places*, p. 2). "This difference in spelling was not lost on our earlier antiquaries," says Mr. Longstaffe, in speaking of Colechester (*Archæologia Æliana*, *supra*). It is most unfortunate that it should have been at any time lost sight of!

Of the various conjectures as to the etymology of the name, that of Camden is that Corstopitum was one of the places noted by

Ptolemy. It will be seen by reference to the map of these islands, in Mercator's copy of Ptolemy (Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 356), that what is now the county of York is laid down with remarkable accuracy. The contour of the coast line is very clear, whilst the relative positions of the towns mentioned in the first *Iter* are here fairly preserved. Eboracum, Isurium, Cataractonium, follow each other in the exact sequence of the *Iter*. The north-eastern corner of this tract is rounded off by a large bay—the wide mouth of the Vedra fluvius [Ὀυεδρα], just as it now is by the great Tees bay. If we follow Ptolemy's map beyond Catterick Bridge, along the line of the first *Iter*, which has brought us from York, we should come upon Vinovium, Vindomora, and Corstopitum as next in order. But we find only a Vinnovium (Ὀὐννονιον of Ptolemy) on the west coast; and in the track of the *Iter* we have the very remarkable names of Κορυία, Κολανία, and Κορία. If we accept the Vedra as the Tees, and the Alaunus as the Wear, then the Boderia Aestuarium would coincide with the mouth of the Tyne. Assuming this, and following up the course of the river, we have the coincidence of Κορία just where we should expect to find Corstopitum. This reasoning evidently led to Camden's suggestion of the possible identity of the places. It is, too, in keeping with Horsley's rule for the interpretation of Ptolemy, in which he suggests that "the promontories and mouths of the rivers are, I think, best known from inspection, and comparing Ptolemy's map of Britain with some modern ones" (*Britannia Romana*, p. 363). But at this point a catastrophe overtook the Alexandrian map maker. The "fault" familiar to a geologist, or the "trouble" of the miner, are small in comparison with "the grand false step," as Horsley calls it, which the geographer has made. The whole of North Britain is bent round, and, "after this grand turn, all is confounded," says Horsley, "and the degrees of latitude turned into longitude" (*Britannia Romana*, p. 361). The western coast is extended in consequence, and the eastern coast is compressed, as we see, so that Horsley, in his endeavours to make the two sides correspond, calls the Vedra the Tyne, puts the Tees down near York (*Dunum Sinus*), and identifies the Boderia with the Frith of Forth. Subjected to this torsion, the northern and southern isthmuses are made to come into their places, and Forth and Clyde and Tyne and Solway duly face each other. With all deference

to so high an authority as John Horsley, it may not be too great a presumption to doubt this conclusion. It would lead to Colania being far into Scotland, and to Coria being placed yet further north, in the direction of Peebles. If we, on the other hand, simply allow the fact that the map is atwist, and that consequently the Tyne is put opposite to the Clyde, then we may note the coincidence of a Colania and a Coria hereabouts, and compare the fact of the survival, in one place, of the two vocables *Col* and *Cor*.

It has been suggested that *Cor* is a corruption of the British word *Caer*—a camp (Maclauchlan, *Memoir, supra*). Dr. Embleton gives the root as “*Corsen* or *Korsek* (Armoric), *Cors* (Welsh)—moor, bog, fen.” As an imported name this might have denoted the place, but it certainly does not apply as a descriptive title to such a spot.

Mr. Flavell Edmunds (*Traces of History in the Names of Places*, sub. *Cor—Core*) gives the derivation of this British word “*Cor*” as from “*Corwg*—a wicker boat or coracle,” and instances Corbridge as an example. Now, this far-fetched word is worthy of careful examination. It has diffused itself as widely as the Aryan migration. The Greek *κυρὸς* is the Latin *Curvus*—curved, bent. The basket maker’s work was the curving of willows, and his finished ware was *Corbis*—a basket. The very word lives to-day in the modern German *Korb*, and in the familiar pitman’s *corb* or *corve* of our own district. The British *Corwg* is a basket boat, the coracle of the Severn fisherman to this day. The British were famous for their skill in wicker work; and the first discoverer who applied his handicraft to make a coracle must have been a notable inventor; for, consider the laborious work of hollowing out a solid tree trunk, till, by the help of fire and the rudest implements, it was fashioned in the likeness of a cumbersome and most cranky boat, and contrast the art that could “*corve*,” with woven alders, a light, portable, and, when hide-bound, an equally buoyant skiff, and you will see that the invention had revolutionised the rough life by river and mere. The solid tree-hewn boats were navigated on the smooth, still reaches of the Tyne; and their remains, deep buried in the ooze, as we have seen them, testify of the early floods which carried them adrift from the upper river. These would, in their turn, be superseded by the coracle; and at Corbridge, if anywhere, the fisherman would make his home beside its long still reaches of smooth,

navigable water. Down to comparatively late times the importance of the fishermen of Corbridge continued, and their "Fisch-shambles gat" and "Fisher's Market" appear in the Black Book of Hexham, and continue in the "Scamble Gate" of the Award map of 1775, and the "Scramble Gate" of to-day. Whether the coracle men gave the distinctive name or not, the fact is noteworthy that we have so widely known a root word as this archaic and most polyglot Cor, that it might most aptly be applied to denote the place, and that, as it was a common property in the languages of the peoples who formed the western migrations, its accurate transmission would be ensured.



As to the other word *Cole*, "Dr. Todd," says Horsley, "supposes (*Philosophical Transactions*, No. 330) the name Colcester to have been Herculcester, i.e., *Castra Herculis*. What led him to this opinion is the altar found here with the Greek inscription on it, by which it appears to have been dedicated to the Tyrian Hercules" (*Britannia Romana*, p. 397). But this explanation does not commend itself.

The more likely interpretation is that, as in the Essex Colchester, and in Lincoln, we have the root word of the Latin Colonia, so here, on the Tyne, we may have another Colonia preserved in the word that has so persistently been attached to the place. "There is, unluckily," says Mr. H. C. Coote, "no *liber Coloniæ* for Britain, and we are left entirely without official details of the successive foundations of those colonial cities which eventually covered our island" (*The Romans of Britain*, p. 123). This supposition would give us Corstopitum Colonia, and would explain the survival of the two root words *Cor* and *Cole*.

These two names were transmitted to the first Angle settlers. They set up their stockaded *tun* alongside the Roman ruins—not on the site of the earlier foundation. As the "ruines of the olde town" were strikingly apparent even in Leland's time, much more must they have formed a distinctive mark in the minds of the earliest English. We see this in the superstitious dread which attached itself in their eyes to the place. The powers of evil possessed the old buildings, and a "Jötun" dwelt in them. This dark figure, from the Teutonic demonology, still lives in the legends of the people as "the Giant Cor;" but in Leland's time his very name had survived. "The peple there say that there dwellid yn it one Yoton whom they fable to have been a gy-gant." (*Itinerary*, ed. 1769, Vol. V., p. 112.)

But, to our forefathers, the most marked feature was the great bridge which bestrode the Tyne, and carried the Watling Street, and so the archaic *Cor* and *Col* were compounded with the English word *brig* or bridge; and, as we have already seen, *Corbrig* and *Colebrig* were used indifferently in naming the place. Speaking of the Watling Street and the Foss, Dr. Guest says, "There can be little doubt that in the twelfth century these magnificent works existed in nearly their original state" (*Origines Celticae*, Vol. II., "The four ways," p. 238). Judging by the condition of the piers, as described in modern times even, we may readily surmise that so huge a structure was long after the Roman period in fair condition. From abutment to abutment its length measures 272 feet, and the character of its work may be judged by inspecting some of its finely moulded stones which yet exist.

The early spelling of the place-name points to the fact that *bridge*, and not *burgh*, was the compound of the word. If *burgh* had been

the word, we should not have had it spelled *bricge* as early as the 12th century.

It was the 13th century before the inhabitants built another bridge. In 19th Henry III. (*i.e.* 1234), Symon de Diveleston "granted the Burgesses of Corebrig to found the head of the bridge upon his land of Dilston." That bridge, as can be seen, was on the line of the existing bridge, which replaced the mediæval structure in 1674. To the deed of Symon de Diveleston is affixed the common seal (No. 1 of annexed Plate) of the burgesses, on which the spelling is COREBRIGIE. Thus has the continuity of Corbridge been maintained as the name of the town, whilst the adjacent Roman site became distinguished from it by the diminutive of Col—Englished as Colechester—accurately discriminated, as we have seen, in a deed dated 1356; again specified in the Award under the Enclosure Act of 1776, where certain Lammas lands are described as "situate in that part of the West Field called Colchester;" and still so designated in the folk-speech of to-day.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since Mr. Heslop's paper has been in type, the following notes on the subject have been received from Professor Hübner, of Berlin:—

i.—"Dr. Gale took this [CORISOPITUM, see p. 216] from the false reading of bad manuscripts of the *Notitia Galliarum*; the true one is CIVITAS CORIOSOLITUM (for CURIOSOLITUM), which has nothing to do with CORSTOPITUM. See Seck's edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin, 1876), p. 264."

ii.—"I am not quite sure of the etymology of the Essex Colchester [see p. 225] (CAMALODUNUM = Camalu = Coleceaster?). But if the Northumbrian Colechester has to be derived from *Colonia*, this *Colonia* can by no means have been a Roman colony like Lindum (Lincoln). *Colonia* in later times may signify only a small settlement of Roman *Coloni*.



No. 1.



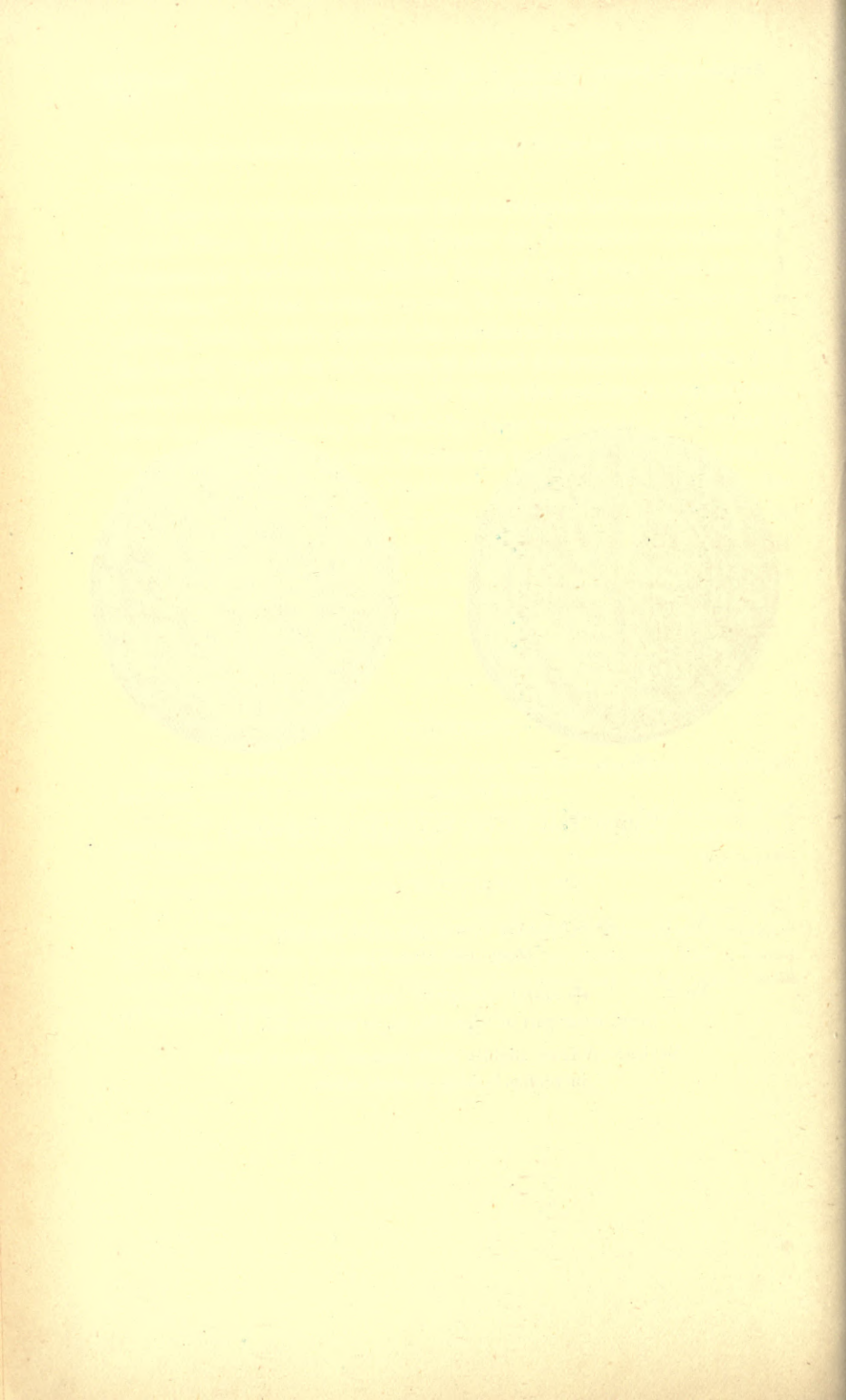
No. 2.

COMMON SEAL OF THE BURGESSES OF CORBRIDGE.

No. 1. ✚ SIGILLVM COMMVNE C[OR]EBRIGIE
 (*temp.* 19th Hen. iij.)

No. 2. ✚ SIGILL COMMVNE COREBRIGIE
 (*temp.* latter part of reign Hy. iij. or early in Ed. i.)

Device:—A cross slightly *patée* between 4 men's heads
 in profile looking at each other.



XVIII.—WILLIAM LONDON, NEWCASTLE BOOKSELLER.

BY JAMES CLEPHAN.

[Read February 24th, 1886.]

MIDWAY in the seventeenth century there were two remarkable men in Newcastle—William Gray and William London, who distinguished themselves in authorship, each in his own characteristic way. The former, better known in the present day than his contemporary, published his *Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, in the year 1649. The original edition and the reprints of 1813 and 1818 are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries ; and Mr. Welford and Mr. Longstaffe have also contributed welcome memoirs of the author and his father, Cuthbert Gray, merchant, to this volume of the Transactions* in further discharge of the debt due to the memory of the earliest of our local historians. That William London should not, like William Gray, be a household word on the Tyne, is owing chiefly to the nature of his subject, *The Use of Books*, which is not local, but general. His time, however, will come ; and, meanwhile, unable as I am myself to meet his claim, I would fain help to keep it alive. If I can do no more, I would not willingly do less. Therefore, pending the promise of his future day, let me add one little leaf to the literature of the Society on William London.

Mr. Longstaffe, editing for the Surtees Society the *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes*, annexes a copious chronological appendix, in which due place is given to the bookseller and stationer who published, in 1657, his *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books in England*, with *An Introduction to the Use of Books*, worthy to stand by the side of the kindred discourse of the tutor of Edward the Third, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham from 1333 to 1345 ; and, indeed, the peculiar

* pp. 65-81 and 61-64.

name of the Newcastle bibliopole was, in some distant quarters, misconstrued into William Juxon, Bishop of London, a Lord Treasurer of the seventeenth century! Yet he who turns to Mr. Longstaffe's instructive leaves, in the fiftieth volume of the Surtees Society's publications, illustrative of the religious life of Newcastle and the district through a succession of generations, will find that after Cromwell and his Council had scattered the Four-and-Twenty of Gateshead in the summer of 1658, William and John London were among the foremost of the inhabitants of St. Mary's substituted in their room, and that when, after the Restoration, the government of Gateshead, in common with that of all England, was remodelled, although John London was retained in the Vestry William London was not.

John was a family name with the Londons. In the month of January, 1668-69, John, son of Samuel London, born on the 12th of November, had baptism and register in St. Mary's, Gateshead; and some sixteen years later, February 3rd, 1684-85, as appears by the books of the Merchants' Company in Newcastle, John London, son of Samuel London of Gateshead, gentleman, was apprenticed to Jonathan Hargrave, merchant adventurer and mercer, and had enrolment on the 17th of March thereafter.

Both sides of the river have records wooing research, and promising the reward of success to loving and patient pens in any grateful endeavour to give William London, one of those trusty tradesmen whose "tokens" passed current through the country in times of commercial need, the prominence due to the author of the *Catalogue* and the *Introduction* in the life and literature of Newcastle and the Tyne.

XIX.—COAL-MINING IN OLD GATESHEAD. EXPLOSION IN “THE STONY FLATT.”

BY JAMES CLEPHAN.

[Read February 24th, 1886.]

IN the affectionate *Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson*, historian of Northumberland, written by the Rev. Dr. Raine, author of the *History of North Durham*, the Felling explosion, which swept away upwards of ninety lives by a sudden blast of the mine, occupies appropriately a considerable number of pages. The catastrophe had happened during Mr. Hodgson's incumbency of Jarrow with Heworth, and found, in the faithful friend and pastor, one whose kindness and energy were equal to the occasion. “In the month of May, in the year 1812, an explosion,” says the biographer, “took place of so dreadful a nature as to surpass in its awful consequences, with perhaps only one exception, any calamity of the kind which had previously occurred either in his own parish or in the whole mining district of the North of England.”

Of the “one exception” to which Dr. Raine alludes, he gathers a note from Mr. Hodgson's MS. folio of local words, under the word *Cramer*, a tinker or mender of broken china, etc.:—“Itinerant cramers formerly lodged in summer at Cramer Dykes, near the head of Gateshead, where there was a great colliery, in which above a hundred persons were killed by an explosion in the year 1700.”

In preceding years there had been occasional mining fatalities in the parish; as, for instance, in October, 1621, when, among the burials of St. Mary's, Gateshead, we read of “Richard Backas, burn'd in a pit;” and in February, 1692, “Michael Laurin, slain in a pit.” Later on, in October, 1705, the instructive church register has a tragic recital of loss of life by a colliery explosion, which fell under the eye

of the writer of these pages far on to a generation ago, and was given to the columns of the *Newcastle Chronicle* after its century and a half of repose in the safe keeping of St. Mary's. Time-honoured is now its date, and commends the sad tale of other days, which so well has been preserved, to suitable reception in the *Archæologia Æliana*. The patient recorder traces the burials through a succession of October days, from the 4th to the 13th, accompanying the mournful narrative with the words, "These were slain in a coal-pitt in the Stony Flatt which did fire," the total number being 31.

October 4.—Cuthbert Richinson, Michael Richinson, Ralph Richinson, brothers; William Robinson, John Liddel; John Broune, Clement Broune, William Broune, brothers; Robert, son to Clement Broune. "Blown up the pitt," John, son of John Broune, Adam Thompson, Joseph Jackson; Abigail, daughter to Joseph Jackson; James Hastings, overman; Michael Walker, his servant.

5.—Leonard Jordan, John Green, John Distans, Richard Fletcher, John Hall, William Maine, Thomas Riddel, Thomas Huggison.

6.—Bryan Thornton, Michael Thompson, Robert Cooke, Matthew Hastings, overman, son to John Hastings.

7.—John Sayers.

10.—Edward Jordan, John Todd.

13.—Thomas Ridsdall.

Three brothers of one family perished—three of another. Three fathers with sons: a father with his daughter. Such are some of the facts as they appear in the register; and they may assist the reader in realizing, after the lapse of nine score years, the prolonged Gateshead agony of the reign of Queen Anne. It had one feature of aggravation now absent from our colliery explosions. Not men alone, but also women, were then employed as miners; and amongst those who were "blown up the pitt" in 1705, was "Abigail, daughter to Joseph Jackson." It was not, indeed, until the year 1842, that the employment of women in our mines was rendered illegal by Act of Parliament. The author of *The Pitman's Pay*, Alderman Thomas Wilson, of Fell House, Gateshead, refers, in a note to the preface of his edition of 1843, to the time when "it was customary to send girls down the coal-pits." "That disgraceful practice," he states, "ceased in this neighbourhood nearly sixty years ago. The custom was more pre-

valent on the Wear than on the Tyne. Here, again, has 'the march of intellect,' which, in the opinion of many, will bring a 'creep' upon society, superseded 'the wisdom of our ancestors,' and rescued 'the pitman's daughter' from the debasing slavery of descending into a coal-pit."

The "Stony Flatt," the scene of the disaster of 1705, was a portion of the table-land on the east of Bensham. It was then unenclosed, but Union Lane runs over the area, and it extended across the space of the field fronting Normanby Terrace in the memory of Gatesiders yet young. In this part of the parish of St. Mary, coals were brought to the surface from depths ranging between about twenty or thirty and fifty or sixty feet; and in our own century the remains of pit-shafts and coal-workings have been discovered in the course of sewerage and other operations. The spade, that friend of the antiquary, lets in the light upon the footprints of generations that are gone. Even the natural gravity of the earth will sometimes give way, here as elsewhere, and courteously invite the curious and observant eye to glimpses of what has been.

XX.—NEWLY DISCOVERED ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS.

 BY DR. BRUCE.

1.—ON A SMALL ROMAN ALTAR FROM MAGNA.

[Read on the 27th January, 1886.]

IF my wishes could be realized I should present to this Society, at each of its monthly meetings, a newly discovered Roman altar or inscription. Of late we have been pretty fortunate. At our last meeting, however, we had none; and on this our anniversary gathering I have only a little one to report. However, the weather has been very bad during the last few weeks, and that may have interfered with the work of discovery.



A little while ago, I received from our senior vice-president, Mr. Clayton, a paper impression of a small altar, which had been found by his drainers in the immediate vicinity of the station of MAGNA, the modern Carvoran, which has recently come into his possession. The altar is a rude one, and the letters of the inscription have the appearance of having been partially worn down by friction. Still, I think, they are legible. I have since seen the altar, and I now present a copy of the inscription as I read it, both on stone and paper.

The word DEO on the first line is plain, but what god was intended the remainder of the inscription failed to show me. The second line may be either FALIT or ALIT, for what seems to be an E or F at the beginning of the line may be only a chance stroke. I ransacked the lists of the gods of Greece and Rome and Roman Britain, to see if

there was any deity or genius whose name began with these letters, but I could find none. In my despair, I sent off the paper impression to our excellent friend and most skilful epigraphist, Professor Hübner, of Berlin. In the course of a few days I received from him a post card, in which, after kindly greetings on the occasion of the new-born year, and friendly messages to Mr. Clayton, he says, "The new little altar from MAGNA (may the soil of that new-bought place of antiquity give us some Mars Thingsus or the like again !) is curious. Is the E or F at the beginning of the second line a real letter ? It seems to me different, not so deeply cut, much like a stroke which I see at the end of the first line after DEO. If so, I venture to read DEO || ALIT || I GAV || ROV || VOTV ; that is *Deo Aliti Gauro votu*[m solvit]. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* II., p. 714—'Inde revertentes deus adspicit ales ;' and Statius, *Thebiodos* IV., p. 605—'. . . quem jam deus ales averno reddiderat.' The 'deus ales,' the winged god, is Mercury. Gauro is, I think, the (probably Celtic) name of the dedicator."

So far Dr. Hübner. His reading is manifestly an ingenious one ; and it is, so far as I can see, the true one. It would, however, be more satisfactory to me if Gauro, supposing him to be a native Briton and consequently not very familiar with the Roman mythology, had addressed the god in the usual manner MERCVRIO, rather than by the epithet ALITI.

I may also mention that the drainers at MAGNA have turned up the larger part of a male statue. The sculptors seem to have left it in a crude and unfinished state. The lower part of it has been broken off. It has been brought to Chesters. So far as I have been able to observe, there are no marks on it by means of which we can identify it with any deity.

2.—ON AN ALTAR FROM SOUTH SHIELDS.

AN altar to Æsculapius which is carved on all four sides. On the back is a garland, on the right hand side the *præfericulum* or pitcher used

in the sacrifice, and on the left the *patera* or dish on which the offering was laid. The inscription on the front is



D[EO] ESCVLAP[IO]
P[V]IBOLEIVS
SECVNDVS
ARAM
D[ONO] D[EDIT]

“To the god Æsculapius, Publius Viboleius Secundus presents as a gift this altar.” Dr. Hübner, to whom a paper impression of this altar was sent, observes that the spelling *Esculapio* for *Æsculapio* is rustic in its character but not uncommon, and that *Viboleius* is a rather scarce *nomen gentile*. Judging from the form of the letters, the scarcity of the name, and the simplicity of the whole dedication, he considers that this is one of the oldest epigraphical monuments found in South Shields,

and that it belongs to the second century, not later. The altar is now in the Free Library Museum at South Shields.

Altars to Æsculapius are not common in Britain. Of the few that have been found, two have inscriptions in Greek. One of these was found at Lanchester,* the other at Maryport.† The worship of Æsculapius was introduced from Greece into Rome in the year B.C. 293. Livy (x., 47) tells us that “The many prosperous events of this year were scarcely sufficient to afford consolation for one calamity—a pestilence which afflicted both town and country, and caused a prodigious mortality. To discover what end or what remedy was appointed by the gods for that calamity, the books were consulted, and there it was found that Æsculapius must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus.” The principal seat of the worship of Æsculapius in Greece was Epidaurus. Greek priests may have been brought thence to conduct the worship of the deity in other places, hence the Greek inscriptions.

* *Lapid. Sept.*, p. 361, No. 687. † *Lapid. Sept.*, p. 445, No. 878.

In the Homeric poems Æsculapius does not appear to be considered as a divinity, but merely as a human being. Zeus killed Æsculapius with a flash of lightning, as he feared lest men might gradually contrive to escape death altogether; or, according to others, because Pluto had complained of Æsculapius diminishing the number of the dead too much. It is curious to find trade jealousies existing among the gods of Greece and Rome. But, on the request of Apollo, Zeus placed Æsculapius among the stars.*

THE fragment of a slab found at Whitley Castle, a camp situated on the Maiden Way, about two miles north of Alston. The letters which remain may perhaps be thus expanded

. . . R]ESTITVT[VM] (?)

. . . [FVS]CO (?) LEG(ATO)

[AVGVSTI PR. PR. INSTANTE . . CON-
SVLARI]S PR(OVINCIAE) BR(ITANNIAE)

The meaning of which seems to be:—

“A building restored under the superintendence of . . . Fuscus, imperial legate and proprætor . . . an officer of consular rank, of the Province of Britain.” The absence of names and of the larger part of the inscription prohibits further conjecture. In writing thus far, I have had the assistance of Dr. Hübner.



A votive ring of base silver from CILURNUM, inscribed on the bezel DN | EP which Mr. C. Roach Smith reads D[EO] NEP[TVNO].†



* Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

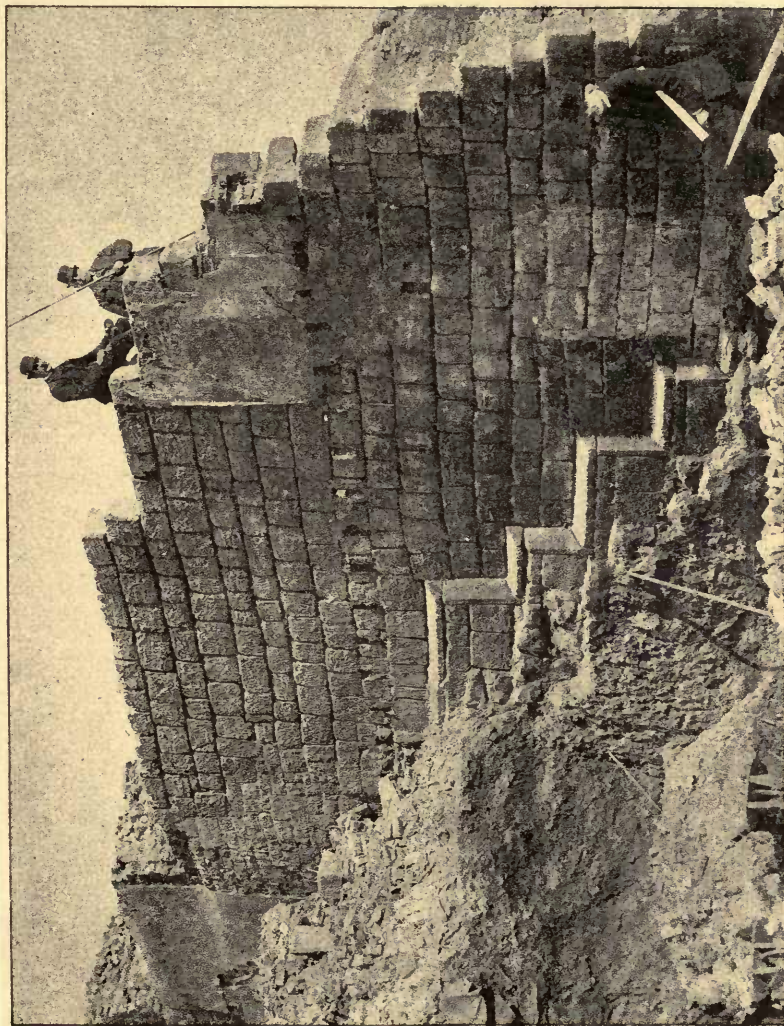
† *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. V. (3rd Ser.), p. 253.

XXI.—THE TOWN WALL OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
IN PANDON DENE.

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.

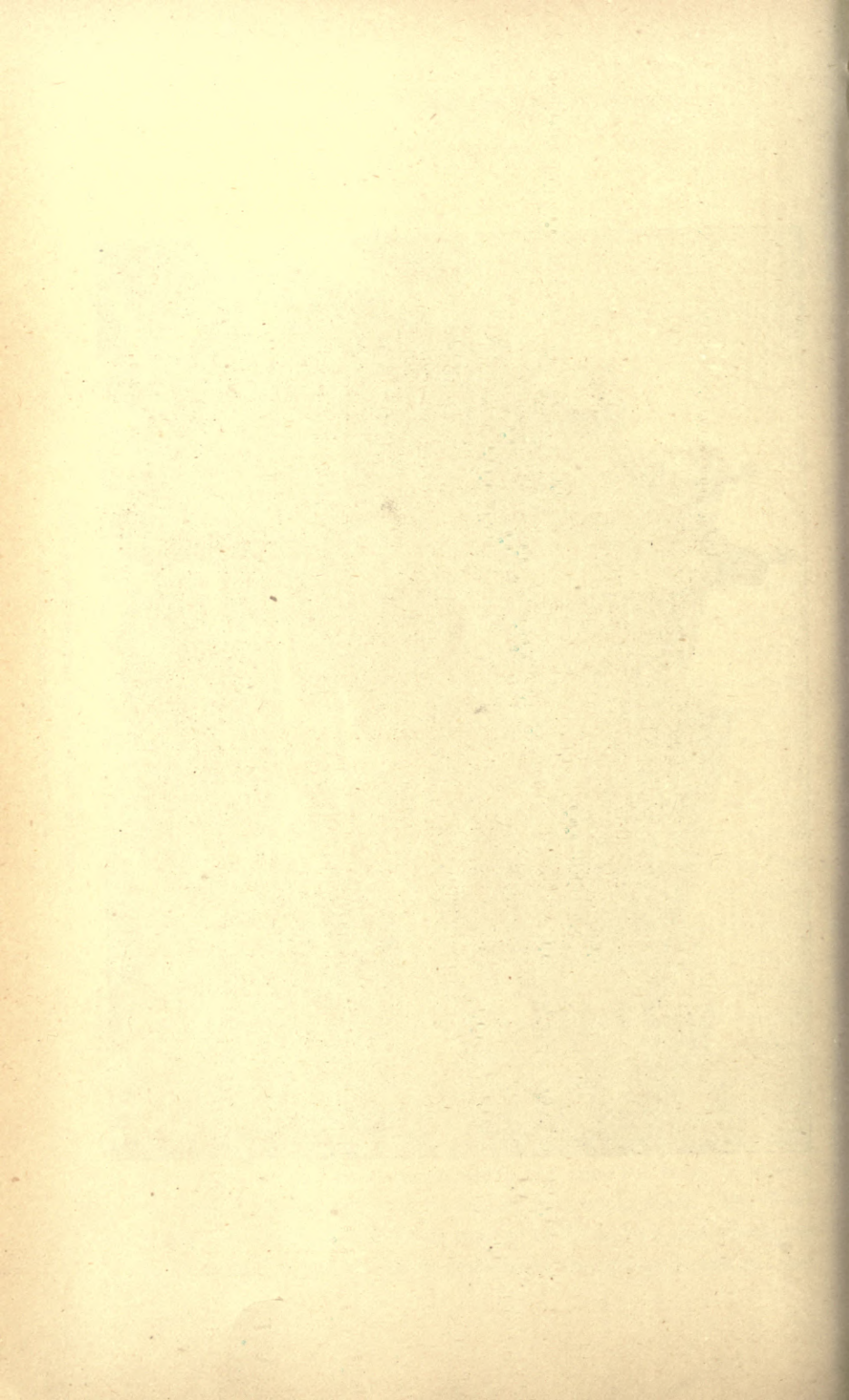
[Read on July 6th, 1881.]

THE Corporation of Newcastle have been for some time engaged on vast works in Pandon Dene and its neighbourhood, in connection with the great scheme of improvement resolved upon by them some time ago. Acres of houses and other buildings have been demolished, and excavations on a very extensive scale have been pushed forward. During the progress of these works some very interesting discoveries have been made. A long stretch of the old Town Wall of Newcastle has been exposed, extending right across the Dene, from the western bank, near the Manors, to the eastern bank at the Sallyport Gate. I am sorry to say much of it has been already destroyed, and little, if any, of it will be visible when the works upon which the Corporation are engaged shall be completed. The whole, or very nearly the whole, of this long reach of wall was entirely hidden before these demolitions and excavations began. The accumulation of soil was, in part, answerable for this, but far more the fact that it was completely buried amongst buildings. Houses, warehouses, and sheds were built close up to it; indeed, it was incorporated with them, forming, in some cases the side wall, in other cases the end wall, and sometimes the foundation, of various structures. When I visited it last, there were places where the plaster and paperhangings of a room were still adhering to it, and other places where the chiselled holes to receive the ends of joists were visible on its face in two long lines. The finest portion of the Wall still forms the end of Wheatley's iron warehouse in Stock Bridge, and will not be demolished, though it will soon be com-



INK PHOTO, SPRAUE & CO LONDON.

A PIECE OF THE WALL OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,
removed for street improvements, at Pandon.



pletely hidden again. This contains about nine hundred square feet, and stands about thirty feet high. From this point the Wall ran across the Dene. How lofty it was I cannot say, for much of it was already demolished when I saw it first (on June 23rd), and the work of destruction was rapidly proceeding. In this neighbourhood a long stretch was being completely rooted up, the workmen employing gunpowder for the purpose, as it was too firmly built and compact to be rent asunder by any gentler means. As soon as the old street that ran up the Dene was crossed, the Wall was seen rising to a considerable height (see Plate XXIII.); and, viewed from the inside of the ruined houses, presented many fine squares of splendid masonry. Near the Sallyport Gate it was still standing many feet in height, and continued so past the Gate for a considerable distance down Causey Bank.

Throughout the whole distance it was finely built. It was faced on both sides with large squared stones, sometimes as much as eighteen inches in length by twelve inches in breadth, and the inside was grouted. The thickness, from face to face, was eight feet.

There are several peculiar features to notice at various points. Thus in the splendid piece of Wall, forming the north end of Wheatley's iron warehouse at Stock Bridge, the excavations revealed several courses of chamfered stones one above another, rising like steps as the hill rises. This work is very good, and must be of early date. At the end of the warehouse the courses of chamfered stones exhibit, where the continuation of the Wall abuts against the Wall containing them, a "return" southwards, showing clearly that the adjoining continuation is of later date, and indicating, I think, with certainty, that when the Wall containing these chamfered courses was built the Town Wall of Newcastle did not include so large an area as in later times, but ran along the western bank of the Dene, which must have been wholly outside the fortifications. Near to the Sallyport Gate, again, is a striking feature. There must have been a breach in the Wall on the west side of the Gate at some early period, made either by assailants in some war or siege, or by the authorities of the town for purposes of reconstruction, for the junction of new and old masonry is most observable. Beyond the Sallyport Gate, going down Causey Bank in a southward direction, there is a fine piece of Wall, exhibiting on the outside chamfered work like that at Stock Bridge,

and on the inside the remains of a tower, or platform, with nine large projecting corbels still in position. The Wall here has been pierced for doorways of modern tenements, and modern staircases and passages have been formed in its thickness. The occurrence of the chamfered work on the two banks, but not, as far as I was able to discover at the time of my visit, in the Dene, suggests the possibility of there having been in early times a detached work on the height of Pandon, which was at a later period connected with the town by the "Long Wall" spanning the valley.

The works at present being carried out by the Corporation comprise the filling up the valley to a certain height, the levelling of the bank on the west, and the hill on the east, the building a huge retaining wall, well on to sixty feet in height from its foundations, and the construction of a number of new streets upon the site, running in various directions. The direction of the retaining wall unfortunately crosses the direction of the ancient Town Wall, with which it nevertheless nearly coincides, at a small angle. Hence the uprooting of the latter through a great portion of its extent. The clerk of the works explained to me that this was necessary, lest if the new wall were built part on and part off the Old Wall, the latter would "break the back" of the former. The fine fragment of Wall at Wheatley's iron warehouse will not be destroyed, but the new wall is being built close up against it, so that it will be completely hidden. The present intention, I am told, is to spare the Sallyport Gate, if it should be found possible, and to underbuild it, which would seem certainly to be necessary, as the hill in its immediate proximity is to be reduced in height between thirty and forty feet; but the fine reach of Wall to the south of it, exhibiting decided indications of early work, is to come down, and has already been sold to a citizen of Newcastle, who has bought it for the sake of the materials.

As I have just intimated, on reaching the western bank of the Dene the Wall turns northward. It does so at a right angle or nearly a right angle. At the corner is a tower, standing about twenty-five feet above the plateau of the western bank, and very picturesque in its ruin. The Wall, as it runs northward from the tower, stands six or eight courses high, exhibiting one chamfered course at the bottom, and making directly in the line of Croft Lane and Croft Street for the

recently destroyed Weavers' or Carliol Tower. Shortly after I visited it last month the workmen, I have no doubt, would come to a further portion of it, and would destroy it, as they would find it running right athwart the line of the new street. I hope, however, the exact position of the Wall will be distinctly marked in the pavement of the new street, or in the walls of the buildings that will in process of time rise on each side of it.

Mixed with the grouting of the core of the wall are many pieces of unburnt coal, some very minute, some as large as peas or marbles. Opinions may differ as to whence these fragments found their way into the mortar. Some may think with the lime from the kiln; I incline to think with the sand from the shore.

XXII.—HEDDON-ON-THE-WALL: THE CHURCH AND PARISH.

BY CADWALLADER J. BATES, M.A.

[Read on the 25th November, 1885.]

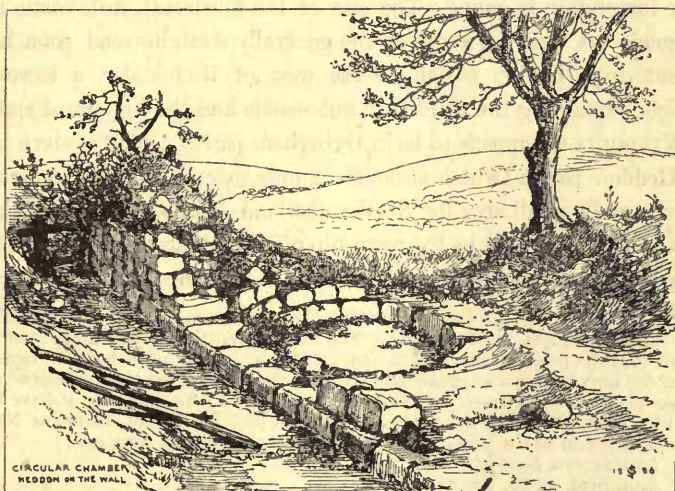
ON June the 19th, the Society visited the village of Heddon-on-the-Wall, seven miles to the west of Newcastle, in the course of the first country meeting held in 1885.

Our country meetings should, it is believed, not only afford pleasant excursions to those taking part in them, and opportunities for examining places of archæological interest with all the advantages resulting from the concentration of kindred eyes and minds, but should further aim at revivifying the study of local history among the people of the districts visited, and by incorporating in the publications of the Society all the information contributed or elicited, do something, in howsoever piecemeal a fashion, towards the completion or the revision of our great County Histories. If that information be not as systematic and definite as is to be desired, that surely forms no reason for withholding it altogether. It is on these considerations that the following notes on the parish and church of Heddon have been hastily collected, as a supplement to the report of the Society's visit already issued.¹

The hill on which Heddon Church stands, in the centre of the village, and the steep mound known as Heddon Law in the north-east corner of the parish, are two natural strongholds that must have been occupied at a very early period. Each rises to about 500 feet above the sea-level. From Heddon Law the view is uninterrupted right away north to Simonside, and the weird Scots pines growing on it form so distinctive a landmark far out at sea that Government is said to have interfered for their preservation. In the Great Rebellion, the Scotch army fixed their headquarters at Heddon Law previous to the

¹ *Proceedings Soc. Ant. Newc.*, Vol. II., p. 46.

battle at Newburn, and round it a volunteer camp was formed during the scare of an invasion of England by the first Napoleon. The Church Hill is sheltered from the west by the slightly higher range of Heddon Common, with its stone quarries; but a central mound, rising on a high plateau that falls on several sides into a natural trench where huts and hovels might be grouped in safety and commanding the whole Tyne valley from Gateshead to Prudhoe, was a position of the first importance in primæval warfare. Traces of hut-circles were to be seen on Heddon Common and on the Resting Hill, near the head of the lane leading from the railway station.



The north fosse of the Roman Wall, and the southern which accompanies the Vallum, are both deeply incised on the Great Hill a little east of the village; and owing to a slight deviation of the Carlisle Road in the intermediate slack, a considerable fragment of the Wall has been preserved among the roots of an old hedge. A year or two ago, Mr. Clayton had some excavations made which resulted in laying bare four or five courses of masonry on the north face, still in a most perfect state; and much of the bank above them is found to consist of the original *core*. At the same time the base of a singular circular turret was unearthened.² All these remains have recently had the same

² See Dr. Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 2nd Ed., p. 51, and illustration above.

generous care bestowed upon them that is so much valued by visitors to CILURNUM. The twelfth mile-castle, reckoning from Wallsend, was somewhere in Heddon village.³ The Vallum passed through Jerry's Pond and Haddock's Hole, as the ground west of the pond is called. Dr. Lingard, in 1807, noticed two inscribed stones at Heddon, showing that parts of the Wall here were built by the Fourth Cohort of the Twentieth Legion, Valeria Victrix,⁴ and the Century of Julius Rufus.⁵ Both have disappeared. My attention has recently been called by the Rev. C. Bowlker to a stone in the byre of the vicarage, about 15 inches long and 9 inches high. This is evidently a centurial stone. The inscription is gone.⁶ The site of the fourteenth mile-castle may be made out near an angle of the generally straight road soon after re-entering Heddon parish to the west of Rudchester, a township which, containing the thirteenth mile-castle and the important station of VINDOBALA, happens to be in Ovingham parish. The western limb of Heddon parish (which although it only extends over 4,725 acres—an unusually small area for Northumberland—has somewhat the shape of a spider) is formed by the township of Whitchester; but though this name is so evidently borne in antithesis to Rudchester, no outline of a

³ This mile-castle probably stood to the east of the pond, on the hill-top now covered with ruins of cottages. The Rev. C. Bowlker, vicar of Heddon, has heard that the people who lived in these cottages, in digging a hole in front of them for burying a horse, came on old foundations and what they described as a grave-stone with letters on it. This they promptly broke up. Can it have been an inscription recording the names of Hadrian and his legate Platorius Nepos, like those found in the mile-castles at Castle-Nick, Milking Gap, &c.?

⁴ *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 35, No. 40.

⁵ *Lap. Sept.*, p. 39, No. 54.

⁶ "1752, November.—The workmen employed in making the military road to Carlisle found a great number of curious Roman coins and medals in the ruins of the old Wall near Heddon. They had been deposited in wooden boxes, which were almost decayed; yet several of the medals were as fresh and fair as if but newly struck. Some were of silver, but the most part of copper and a mixture of a coarser metal. Several of the most curious were purchased by the Royal Society."—Sykes's *Local Records*, I., p. 204. "On February 6th, 1856, the Rev. James Raine, jun. presented thirty-one Roman coins, in third brass, discovered at Heddon-on-the-Wall."—*Proc. Soc. Antig. Newc.*, Vol. I. (O.S.) p. 95. "These were believed to have been found about the year 1820. They are small copper coins, in good preservation, belonging to the reigns of Maximian, Constantine, Constans, Magnentius, Constantius junior, Valens, and Arcadius. The latest of them belongs to the year 394, and bears the emperor's head laureated, and the inscription [D. N. ARC]ADIVS P. F. A[VG]; on the reverse is [V]RBS RO[MA], with an armed figure standing, holding the Labarum in his right hand, a Victoriola in his left (see Birago, p. 523). Secreted probably during that disastrous period which culminated in the final withdrawal of the legions from Britain, the unfortunate owner never returned to claim them.—Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 3rd Ed. p. 125.



HEDDON ON THE WALL PARISH.

DIR. PHO. ENG. G. 9

camp can be even imagined.⁷ In the grass field⁸ just east of the new lodge at the entrance to Close House, is an oblong entrenchment, with rounded corners and indications of gateways, that has hitherto escaped notice. Traces of a causeway leading towards this from the Wall in a south-westerly direction are said to have been discovered in the glebe, and there is reason to suppose that the "Alde-heway," mentioned in the thirteenth century, passed by or through it.

Coming now to English times, it is remarkable that in the Hundred Rolls⁹ in 1274, Heddon appears as "Edwinistre."¹⁰ Whether this is a corruption of the "Hidewinestremes"¹¹ mentioned eighteen years later, or the other way round,¹² seems hard to determine. Heddon may or may not have been, like Ad Gefrin¹³ and Edwinesburh,¹⁴ one of the hill forts of King Edwin; but at any rate there appears to be no reasonable ground for not identifying "Heddon-super-Murum" with "Ad Murum," the royal "villa" of Oswy, which Bede plainly says was "close to the Wall, at the distance of twelve miles from the eastern sea."¹⁵ Our great historian tells us, too, the Wall was built "from sea to sea;"¹⁶ and if, therefore, we measure the distance given, along its course, where, we are entitled to demand, was "Ad Murum" if not at the twelfth mile-castle?¹⁷

⁷ *Lewis's Topographical Dict.*, 1844, sub Whitechester, certainly has: "Within the township is the site of a Roman station, defended on every side by deep ravines." A so-called cairn, on the high ground near Turpin's Hill, yielded, it is said, in 1795, a chest of coins of Domitian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina. Hutchinson (*Hist. Northd.*, Vol. I., p. 128) says "there are said to be some remains of a fort at Whitechester; but all this seems to be a mistake." There is somewhat like the remains of an earthen rampart, and between Whitechester and Harlow Hill is a round hill with a trench about it, &c."

⁸ Field No. 44, Houghton and Close House Township.—Ord. Sur., 25-in. scale.

⁹ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III., i., p. 115.

¹⁰ Cf. Oswestry, i.e. Oswaldestre. Just over the Cumbrian Border we have Birdoswald, a Celticized form of "Oswaldesburh." Possibly the place-names "Edwinestre," and Birdoswald mark the limits of the English Pale under Edwin and Oswald.

¹¹ "Quod dominus rex habebit totum portum maris a mari usque ad locum qui dicitur Hidewinestremes."—Hodgs. *Northd.*, III., ii., p. 348.

¹² The expression "*terra de Edenstrem (?)*" in the grant of Reginald de Kenebell quoted *postea* p. 246 n. 27, considerably strengthens the surmise that it is "Hedwinestremes," which is the corruption.

¹³ Yevinger Bell.

¹⁴ Edinburgh.

¹⁵ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. III., c. 22.

¹⁶ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. I., c. 12.

¹⁷ Owing to erroneous measurement or fanciful etymology, "Ad Murum" has been placed at Pandon, Benwell, Walbottle, and Welton. Surely the *non plus ultra* has been reached in the tradition (?) that *Paulinus* baptised *Egbert* in

The jurisdiction of the Corporation of Newcastle over the Tyne as far as the Hedwin Streams may be supposed to have had its origin in times when the river was navigable, at least for small craft, up to that point; and the gradual silting up of the lower reaches, which in the twelfth century doubtless took the trade of Newburn—till then the great shipping place on the Tyne—down to Newcastle, may at an earlier date account for the rise of Newburn.¹⁸ Moreover, when, on the Roman evacuation, the Ælian Bridge was broken down, such traffic as there was must have been diverted to Stannerford, near Close House, in those days the first safe ford up the river, and travellers north, after crossing it, would come to the Wall ("Ad Murum") at Heddon.

At Heddon, then, in A.D. 653, both Peada, prince of the Middle Angles, and Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, were baptised, with their followers, by Finan, bishop of Lindisfarne, at the court of King Oswy; and hence they took home with them to Repton and to Tilbury the missionaries who formed the germs of the present dioceses of Lichfield and London.¹⁹

The fact that Heddon Church was once, if it is not now, dedicated to St. Andrew²⁰ is some proof of its high antiquity. St. Gregory was still only Abbot of the Monastery of St. Andrew in Rome, which he had founded, when the angelic countenances of the fair-haired young Angles in the slave market rivetted his attention, and caused him to proclaim that Deira was to be rescued from the wrath of God, and Alleluia chanted in the realm of King Ælla. Augustine when he set out on his mission was prior of that same monastery. St. Andrew may, then, in no legendary sense, have been regarded as the Apostle of Britain. When SS. Peter and Paul had been honoured in the dedication of the

the King's Well at Walltown, near Haltwhistle!—*Proceedings Soc. Ant. Newc.*, Vol. I. (N.S.), p. 160. Mr. Longstaffe's identification of Rudchester with "Ad Murum" (*Arch. Æl.*, Vol. IV., N.S., p. 56) is not happy, resting, as it does, on the supposition that Bede's miles were of quite arbitrary length, to say nothing of the extreme improbability of an English king fixing on a 'chester' for his 'villa,' which would require a site of greater natural strength. "Ad Murum" was obviously a point of strategic importance, and a church might be expected to mark the scene of so great an event in the history of the Conversion of England.

¹⁸ Newburn (Nyweburne), i.e. the *Newburh*. Cheeseburn. near Stamfordham, is clearly a corruption of "Cheseburgh;" and we find Simonburn called in early times "Symondbury;" Brinkburn "Brincaburch," Sockburn "Sochasburg," &c.

¹⁹ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. III., c. 22.

²⁰ See "Carta Walteri de Bolebec de advocacione Ecclesie de Hedone" *postea* p. 246 n. 25.

metropolitan church of Canterbury, the second cathedral founded by Gregory's missionaries, that of Rochester, was inscribed to St. Andrew; and when, a century later, Wilfrid, on his return from Rome, built at Hexham the church that surpassed in splendour all others north of the Alps, he placed it under the especial patronage of that saint. The numerous churches on the Tyne dedicated to St. Andrew may be supposed to have been founded before the destruction of Hexham in the ninth century. As soon as St. Andrew was adopted as the national saint of Scotland (so much of which formed part of the Great Northumberland) his popularity south of the Border must have waned. Heddon is at present assigned to St. Philip and St. James,²¹ and although they were, as at Rock and Whittonstall, probably substituted on the revival of interest in such matters through ignorance of the original patron, it is curious that the orientation—the whole church pointing almost due north-east—agrees with May Day, their festival.²²

Heddon Parish includes six townships—Heddon-on-the-Wall, East Heddon, West Heddon, Houghton, Whitechester, and Eachwick. The first three may possibly be sub-divisions of one original township, but East Heddon appears as “Hydewin” or “Hedwin” after the village of Heddon had settled down to the present form of the name. How these six townships, originally independent of one another for civil purposes, came to group themselves into the present ecclesiastical parish cannot be explained. Possibly many townships in Northumberland lost their churches in the ravages of the Danes in the ninth century.

After the Norman Conquest, these six townships formed an *enclave*, or isolated portion of the Barony of Styford, bestowed by Henry I. on Hugh de Bolbec²³. His grandson, Walter de Bolbec, having founded

²¹ In Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Eccles.*, p. 756, we find Heddon entered as “Hedwallen, Vic. S. Andr.,” so that the change to SS. Philip and James has been made since its publication in 1742. By what ecclesiastical process are the intruders to be ejected, and St. Andrew reinstated as rightful patron?

²² The day of the old Village Feast has been forgotten. What survives of Heddon Hopping is now held on the Monday of the first *whole* week after the Midsummer Fair at Stagshawbank, for the very practical reason that the showmen, &c., used to be returning from the fair at that time. Newburn Hopping comes a week after Heddon, that at Lemington a week after Newburn, and so the company made their way to the Lammas Fair at Newcastle.

²³ The Bolbecs derived their name, still preserved in that of Bolbeck Common, in Shottleyshire, from the town of Bolbec, near the mouth of the Seine, in

the Praemonstratensian monastery of Blanchland²⁴ in 1165, "gave all the rights and patronage which he and his ancestors had in the Church of St. Andrew at Heddon to God and the Church of St. Mary at Blanchland, and the canons serving God there, for the sake of the souls of his father, Walter, and of his other ancestors," by a charter²⁵ witnessed by his lady and mother Sibilla, by his brother Hugh de Bolbec, by Wielard the parson of Styford, Hugh de Crawedon,²⁶ Reginald de Kenebell²⁷, Ralph de Gray,²⁸ and others.

Normandy. Their arms were *vert, a lion rampant arg.* At Bywell St. Andrew's, the principal church in the Bolbec Barony, is an early sepulchral slab with a shield bearing a lion rampant. The parish of Bywell St. Andrew was all in the Bolbec, that of Bywell St. Peter, with which it is so strangely intermingled, all in the Baliol Barony. A Hugh de Bolbec founded the Cistercian Abbey of Woburn in A.D. 1145.

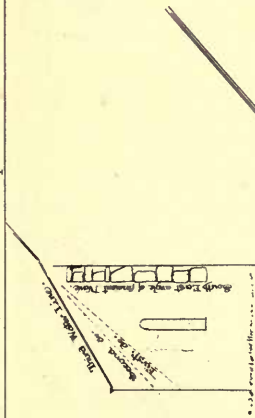
²⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, &c., VI., p. 886. Blanchland, in Northumberland (probably till then called Wulwardhope), derives its name from the Praemonstratensian priory of Blanche Lande, in Normandy, which was founded by Richard de Haye, Constable of Normandy, in 1155. *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

²⁵ "Universis, &c. Walterus de Bolebek salutem. Noverit, &c., me dedisse, &c. Deo et ecclesie S. Mariæ de Blancalanda, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, quicquid juris et patronatus ego et antecessores mei habuimus in ecclesia S. Andree de Hedone, cum suis pertinentiis, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, &c., pro anima patris mei Walteri, et pro animabus aliorum antecessorum meorum. Hiis testibus, domina mea et matre Sibilla; Hugone de Bolibek fratre meo; Wielardo personâ de Stiford; Hugone de Crawedone, Reginaldo de Kenebell; Thurstan filio Ricardi; Ranulfo de Gray; Rogero de Cogners, Eustachio clerico, Gilberto de la Vale, &c."—Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI., p. 886.

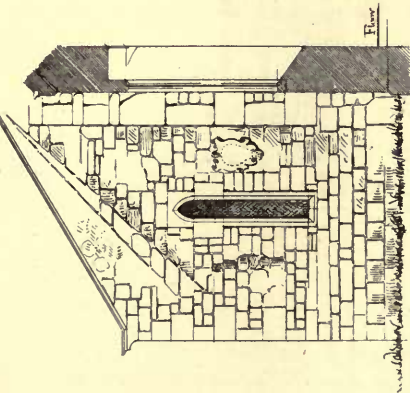
²⁶ The Crawedons, who are supposed to have come from Crowdon, near Clapton, about 10 miles S.W. of Cambridge, held Houghton, Whitchester, and Wallington, under the Bolbecs.

²⁷ This Reginald de Kynebell held in 1168, as 'Reginald fil. Wimundi, the whole of Benwell of Walter de Bolbec, as half a knight's fee of new feoffment. (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., iii., p. 302.) In one place in the *Testa de Nevill*, Benwell (originally 'Bynnewalle,' *Sym. Dun. Hist. S. Cuthb.*, sec. 24), actually appears as Kenebell—'Rics de Kenebell, tenet medietatem de Kenebell'; and though this is immediately followed by 'Robtus de Wycestr' et Henr' de la Val tenent aiteram medietatem de Benewell' (Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., i., p. 205), there can be little doubt that Reginald, the son of Wimund, somehow took his surname from the fee he held. Together with 'Walter de bolebec' and others, 'Rainald de Kynebel' witnessed the charter granted (1157-1185) by William de Vesey to the burgesses of Alnwick (Tate's *Alnwick*, Vol. II., App., p. 1.); and we know that in the time of Walter de Bolbec, this Reginald held also certain lands in Heddon—probably those afterwards rented by Robert de Whitchester—since he granted a free passage and landing-place to the monks of Newminster for their 'ship' in his land of Edwinestre (?) and liberty of going and returning by the new road he conceded to them through his coppice to the great road that led towards Throckley. If through stress of flood or wind they could not row in the customary place they were not to be molested.—"Riginaldus de Kynebell, salutem. Sciatis me pro sal. an. m. et domini mei Walteri de Bolbeke et omn. her. m. conc. et hac m. carta conf. Deo et B. M. et mo. de Novo Mon. liberum passagium et rivagium cum navi sua in terra mea de Edenstrem (?), et liberum ire et redire per novam viam quam concessi eis per boscum meum usque ad magnam viam quæ vadit versus Trokeslau. Et si forte vi aquæ vel venti non possunt loco solito applicare, non inde a me vel meis cambuntur. Hiis testibus, &c."—*Nen-*

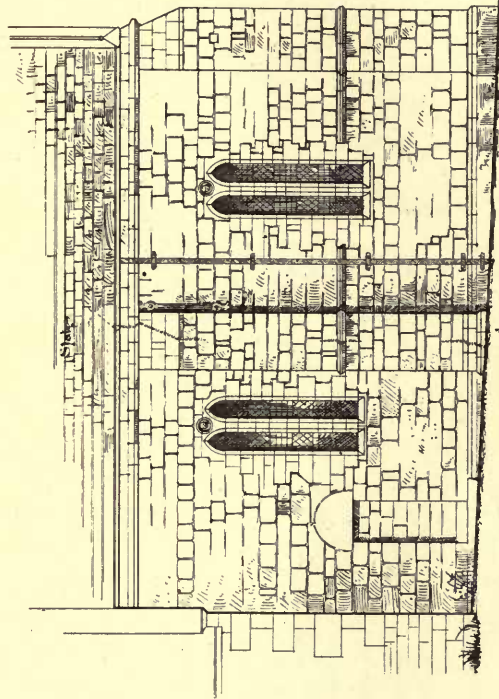
HEDDEN·CHURCH.



End of South Aisle.



East End of S. Aisle.

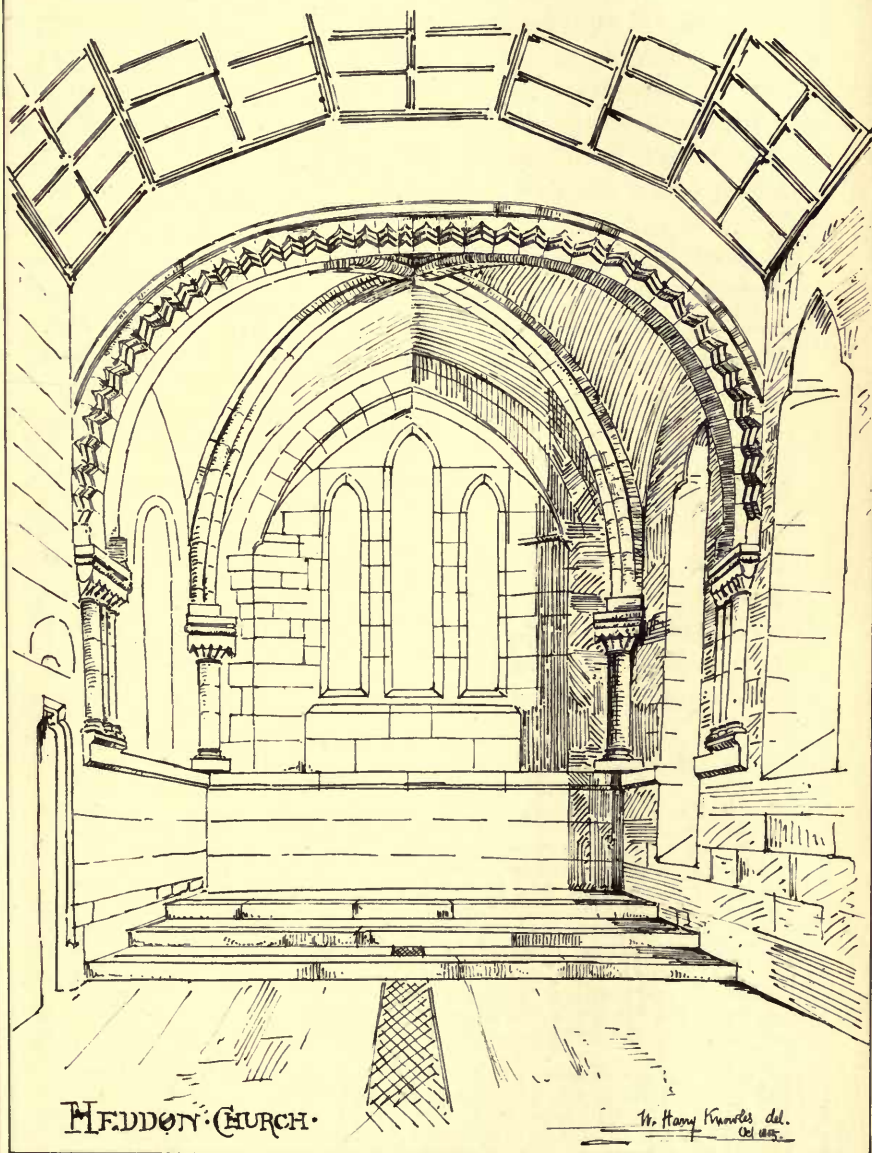


South Side of Recess.



W. Henry. Knowles. del.
C. 1885.





The canons of Blanchland, on obtaining this grant of Heddou Church, appear to have immediately commenced building the present chancel. It was usual for monastic foundations to rebuild or improve churches given them, and thus please villagers only too glad, probably, to escape from the deadening monotony of the parochial system, even at the cost of seeing their great tithes appropriated to a distant abbey. For some reason the great tithes of the township of West Heddou were reserved to the vicar of Heddou-on-the-Wall, who is consequently rector of West Heddou.

If anything be left of the Church of St. Andrew before 1165 it is the quoin of rough stones (see Plate XXV.), the alternate ones placed about two feet on end, that is seen built for eighteen inches from the chancel into the east wall of the south aisle. This apparent piece of 'long-and-short' work may be the east end of the south wall of a very early nave.

The Norman chancel (see Plate XXVI.) is divided inside into two portions by a fine zigzag arch, peculiar in construction and still more peculiar in position. The double row of teeth forming this zigzag are not, as in most instances, arranged perpendicularly, but stick out horizontally as if in the wide-open mouth of some monster. A row of similar half-teeth are worked in below the roll-band, which, with the moulding above, completes the arch. Two zigzag lines incised in what—carrying out the comparison—forms the jaw beneath the lower set of fangs, considerably heighten the effect.²⁹

From some cause that is not apparent³⁰ this arch has been so *minster Cartul.*, Surtees Soc., 66, p. 52. The object of this ferry was to put the Cistercians of Newminster, near Morpeth, in direct communication across the Tyne with their possessions at Chopwell, on the Derwent. The course of the river must have much changed since that time. The Hedwin Streams are now a shallow rapid; the present ferry is about half-a-mile further down the river, and lies entirely in the parish of Ryton, the ferryman's house and the wooded field round it, called Ryton Island, being in the county of Durham, although on the north bank of the Tyne. The Editor of the *Newminster Cartulary*, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, seems not to have been aware of the locality of 'Edenstrem.'

²⁸ The early mention of a Grey in Northumberland is interesting. The Greys appear to have obtained Wallington from the Crawdens by marriage, and from them it passed in the same way to the Wallingtons.—*Newminster Cart.*, Surt. Soc., 66, p. 261.

²⁹ Other examples of zigzag arches treated in this horizontal fashion are to be seen at Norham and Jedburgh; but the finest of all are perhaps those at St. Peter's, Northampton, and in the Great Hall of Rochester Castle.

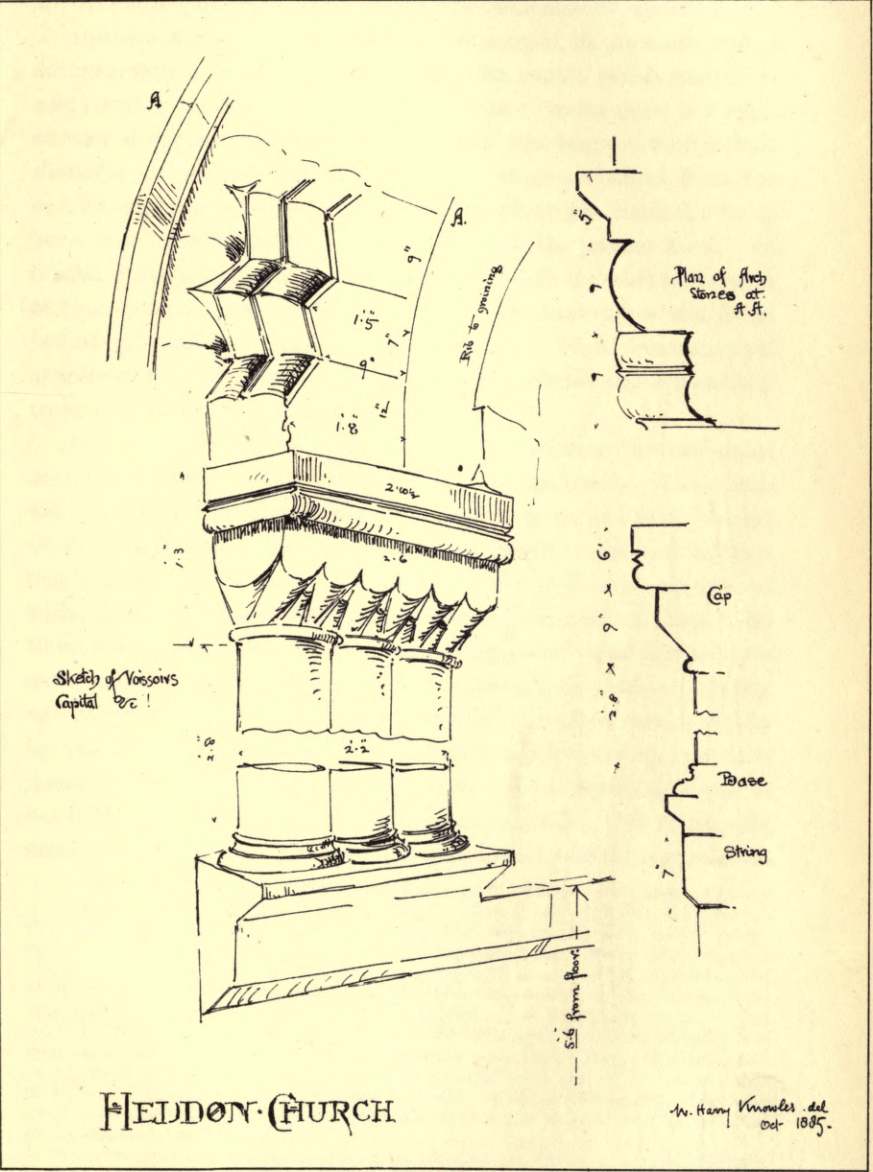
³⁰ It has been suggested that this depression may have been caused by the superincumbent weight of the east wall of a central tower between this arch and the nave. The abandonment of this project, or the fall of the tower, would account for the slightly later date of the west portion of the chancel.

depressed as to acquire a flat appearance in the centre ; indeed, a small keystone seems to have been inserted. The springers of the upper part of the arch are, especially on the south side (which has a nick cut in it to show a little more of the zigzag), entirely hidden by the walls of the western portion of the chancel, which are decidedly Norman, though possibly not of the same date as those of the vaulted compartment to the east of the arch. The flat springers of the arch stand on either side 4 inches further in than the springers of the double ribs that support this vault. On the north side, the flat springer of the arch is 6 inches high, that of the double rib 8 inches ; on the side the proportions are reversed, being 7 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches respectively. The walls of the chancel lean over considerably to the outside.³¹ Outside, this zigzag arch is supported by two characteristic Norman buttresses, without set-offs, that finish with a rough slope to a string-course just below the parapet. At about 8 feet from the ground these buttresses are crossed by the semi-hexagonal string-course that runs round the walls and corner buttresses of the east portion of the chancel, but is not continued round the west portion.

A string-course runs round also the interior of the east portion ; slabs are laid at its north-east and south-east angles to carry single pilasters set corner-wise on, from which the double ribs of the vault spring, intersecting each other, over to the eastern of the triple semi-columns, set on similar slabs, but in the line of the walls, the two western of which, on either side, support the zigzag arch. These pilasters have all flat-faced capitals, with scalloped or invected edges. The north cluster differs from the west in having what look like small stems between the scalloping (see Plate XXVII). The bases of the two single pilasters and of the two clusters are all different. The base-mouldings of the clusters are carried an inch or two further along the wall to the east and west.

One of the original little round-headed Norman windows, a mere 6-inch slit, 3 feet long, nobly splayed on the inside, is preserved in the north wall, near the altar. Outside, three holes have been punctured in the stone above it, perhaps for a grating. Probably there was a

³¹ The enormous number of interments in this chancel may have caused the foundations to slide in. More than a thousand persons have probably been buried inside the church.





similar window in the east wall.³² The eastern angles of the chancel are overlapped by Norman buttresses like those already described.

In the eastern portion of the chancel there is, in the south wall, a doorway with a plain tympanum that looks almost earlier than Norman; and in the north wall, above the present vestry door, is a semi-circular doorhead in a single stone, which also bears a very archaic character. This doorhead seems now at a great height from the ground, but the bases of the chancel arch prove the chancel floor to have been originally about eight inches above the present level. In breaking the arch for the organ-chamber through the wall to the west of this doorhead, part of the splay of a Norman window was found beneath the plaster, covered with the red and black frescoing that appears to have been general throughout the church, and is especially to be noticed on the simple Norman font.

It is very dry work minutely describing a building of considerable complexity that is not before the eyes of an audience. Those who take an interest in the architectural puzzles connected with Heddon Church may again visit it when summer comes round, and perhaps deign to put these notes in their wallet. My own theory—thrown out without dogmatism—is that the canons of Blanchland found the Church of St. Andrew at Heddon consisting simply of an ancient nave with, probably, an apse at the east end. Intending to build an entirely new church they began the vaulted compartment over the present altar to the east of the apse, in order to have this ready for the celebration of mass³³ before pulling down the old nave. The zigzag arch was to have been the chancel arch of their new church. But when this sanctuary was finished the canons changed their minds, from motives

³² "Mrs. Jane Cowling, formerly of Richmond, widow, was interred in the Quire under y^e easter Little Window. Jan. y^e 25th 1704."—(Heddon Register.) The *easter Little Window* probably means the original Norman east window, which seems to have been taken out at the 'restoration,' about 1840, when a plain three-light window with the Bewicke arms and the letters M. B. in coloured glass was inserted, to be removed in 1873. Mrs. Jane Cowling was the mother-in-law of the Rev. Miles Birkett, vicar 1693-1709. Her interment under, or just behind, the communion-table appears now revolting and irreverent; but then it was quite in the ordinary course, for we read also that 'Mary, dau. to James Carmichael, vicar, was buried in the church nigh the south end of the communion-table, Sept. the 9th, 1712;' her sister, Eleanor, on 26th April, 1721, 'nigh the south wall just below the steps;' while their father and mother were both buried in the chancel, 'within the rails.'

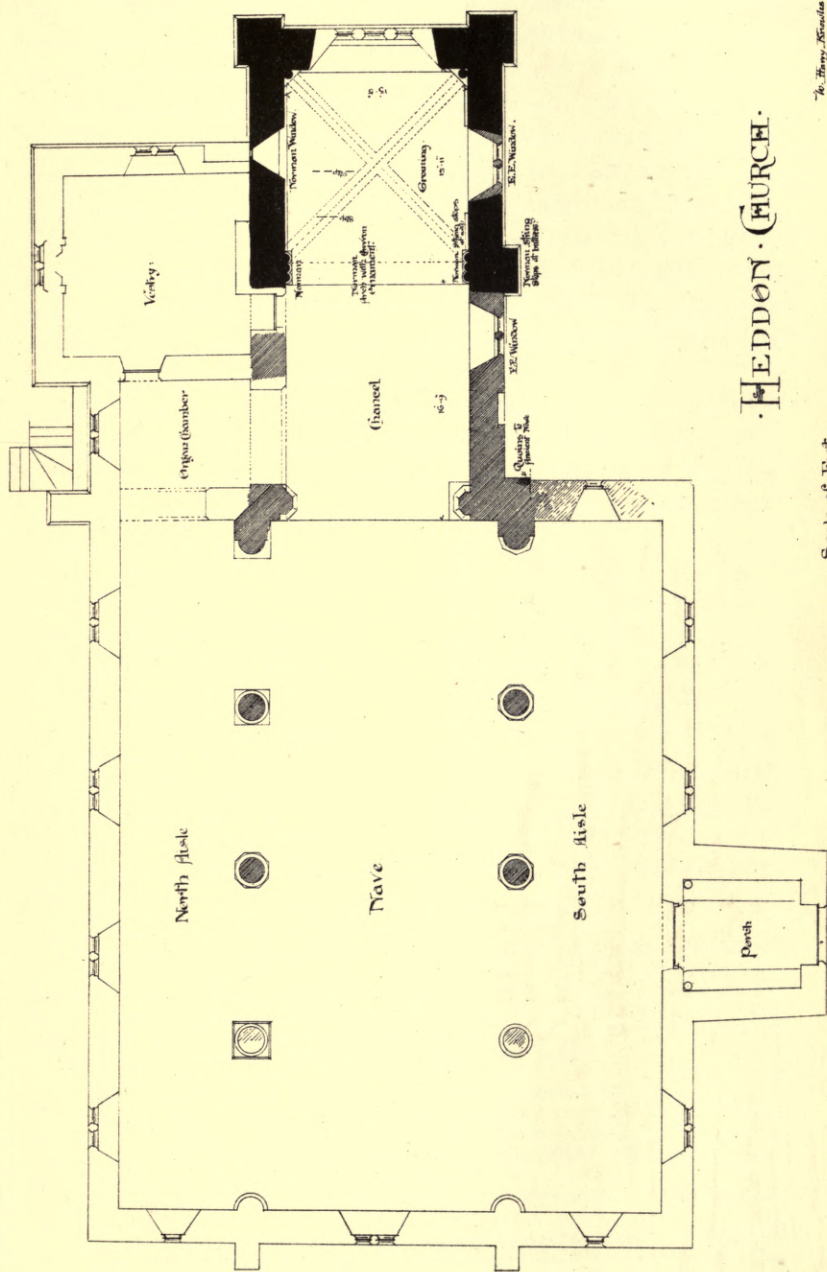
³³ In the autumn of 1884 I noticed at Linz, on the Danube, a good example, in the new cathedral building there, of this anxiety to finish the east end of a church first, especially for the services of the Latin ritual.

of economy, and joined it on as best they could to the old nave, destroying the apse in the process.³⁴

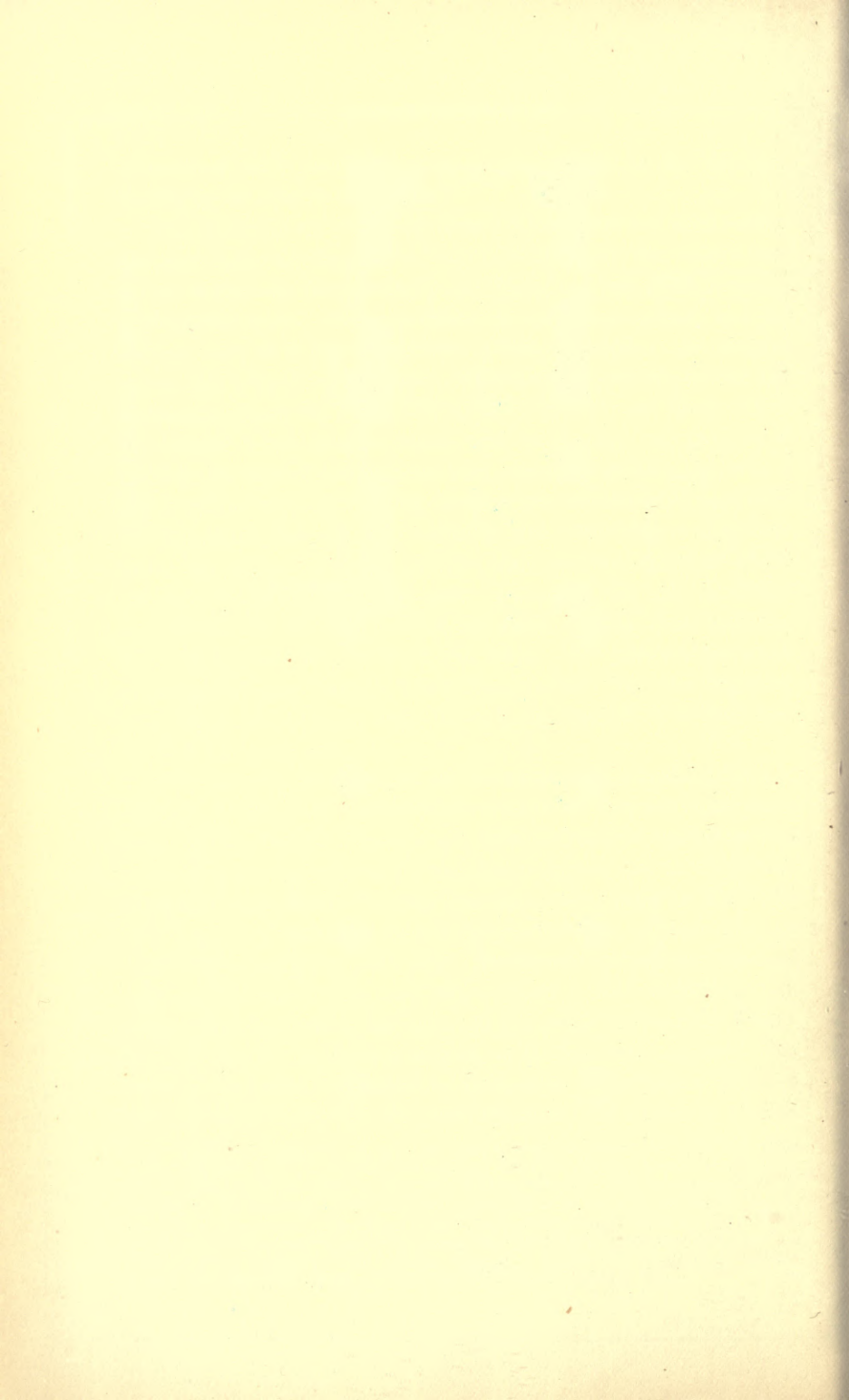
The history of the rest of the church is comparatively plain sailing. Probably before the close of the twelfth century the two eastern bays of the north aisle were thrown out. These are very noble examples of Transition work. The semi-column at the chancel corner, and the column west of it have elaborate Norman capitals; the massive arches they support are pointed. At successive periods during the thirteenth century the two double-lancet windows in the south wall of the chancel (with curious faces—that in the east one crowned—between the tops of their lights) were inserted; another bay, with a round column of much the same character but considerably higher than the Transition ones and a wide soaring arch, was added to the north aisle; the present chancel arch (the semi-octagonal shafts of which rise from different levels, the north one having the more elaborate capital with nail-head mouldings, the south one the more elaborate base) was erected; and the south aisle built. The pillars of the south aisle have octagonal capitals, the arches internal ribs; the moulding over the arches does not come down to the capitals as it does over those of the north aisle.

The roof over the nave, and the two aisles, came originally down in one long straight pitch that has left its mark on the east wall of the south aisle (see Plate XXV). This was very usual at that time, but the walls of the aisles must, in consequence, have been very low, and the windows in them wretchedly small. Probably there was a sort of gable for additional height above the principal door of the church which opened into the westernmost bay of the south aisle. The square capitals of the detached shafts on each side of this door that support a bold architrave with a hood moulding over it, are buried in the rough acute-arched vaulting of the porch, an addition probably of the fourteenth century. The bases of these shafts are hidden by stone seats. The walls of the aisles were probably raised when the porch was built, and roofed to a pitch

³⁴ Mr. C. C. Hodges, I am glad to say, concurs in this view. On the other hand, the Rev. J. R. Boyle, who, in company with Mr. W. H. Knowles (see Appendix A), has spared no pains in studying Heddon Church, refuses to recognize the quoins at the juncture of the chancel and south aisle as 'long-and-short' work, but refers them to the same Transitional epoch as the semi-Norman bays of the north aisle. On the question of fact as to the character of the quoins, we are completely at variance; and I submit that Mr. Boyle's theory fails to explain how it was that the zigzag arch did not become the *chancel* one.



W. Harry Knowles. d.d.
October 1857.



flatter than that of the nave, though not so flat as their present pitch, as may also be seen on the east wall of the south aisle. About 1840 the gallery which had been erected at the west end of the church was taken down, and, as a substitute, the nave was lengthened and an extra bay added to each aisle, at the same time, probably, a clean sweep was made of all the old monuments, &c. An octagonal vestry was built out at the west end of the nave, in place of one under the gallery which was pulled down. This eccentric vestry was, in its turn, demolished about 1870, and one in no better taste added on the north of the chancel, destroying its external features. In 1873, the church was conscientiously repaired, and an organ chamber inserted between the new vestry and the north aisle.

The first vicar of Heddon whose surname we know is John de Darlington, who exchanged the living for that of Kirkharle in 1350.

The following list³⁵ gives, as far as has been ascertained, the dates when his successors were appointed, and whether they resigned or died:—

1350. John de Kirkeby.	1626. Thomas Taylor.
John de Shotton, r.	1628. Edward Say, r.
1434. John Alnwick.	1628. William Wilson.
William Baxter, r.	1642. Samuel Raine, d. ³⁷
1492. Richard Broundon.	1662. Thomas Clarke, d.
Christopher Cowper, d.	1669. Robert Dobson, d. ³⁸
1542. Edward Clemetson, d.	1673. Samuel Rayne, d. ³⁹
1547. Galfrid Glenton, d.	1693. Miles Birkett, d. ⁴⁰
1577. James Beake, r.	1709. James Carmichael, d. ⁴¹
1577. Nicholas Bonnington, r.	1743. Andrew Armstrong, d.
1579. Henry Wilson, d. ³⁶	1796. Thomas Allason, d.
1580. Francis Coniers.	1830. John Alexander Blackett, r. ⁴²
1584. James Hobson, d.	1848. John Jackson, d.
1613. Henry Bureil, d.	1850. Michael Heron Maxwell, d.
1622. Jeremiah Hollyday, d.	1873. Charles Bowker.

³⁵ Hed. Reg. This list, said to be taken from the books at Durham, is by no means accurate.

³⁶ This Henry Wilson, according to Hodgson (*Northd.*, II., ii., p. 91, n.), became vicar of Longhorsley in 1587, and did not die till 1610.

³⁷ Samuel Raine appears to have been ejected under the Commonwealth, and Heddon Parish practically joined to Newburn, the cure of both being supplied by Mr. Thomas Dockery.—*Eccles. Inquests*, A.D. 1650; Hodg. *Northd.*, III., iii., lviii. Dockery appears to have remained vicar of Heddon as late as 17th June, 1662, when he officiated at a marriage. In that month Clarke first appears as vicar in the Registers; he died 4th Jan., 1669.—Hed. Reg.

³⁸ Dobson died 27th Feb., 1671.—Hed. Reg.

³⁹ Rayne was buried in the chancel, 16th March, 1691.—Hed. Reg.

⁴⁰ Birkett came to Heddon, 7th August, 1691, and dying 24th May, 1709, was buried in the church on the 29th.—Hed. Reg. Mr. Miles Birkett, minister of Horton, and Mrs. Jane Cowling of Bedlington, were married at Bedlington, Sept. 21, 1688.—Hodgson's *Northd.*, II., ii., p. 543.

⁴¹ Carmichael came from Ponteland 26th July, 1709; he died 10th June, 1743.—Hed. Reg.

⁴² Collated to the Rectory of Wolsingham, co. Durham; assumed the surname of Ord, in addition to Blackett, on his wife succeeding to the Whitfield estate in 1855.

In the "Verus Valor" taken in A.D., 1288, in consequence of Pope Nicholas IV. having granted the tenths of all benefices to Edward I. for six years, the true annual value of Heddon rectory is returned at £25 0s. 8d, that of the vicarage at £6 5s. 8d. In the "Nova Taxatio" of A.D. 1318, Heddon does not figure, doubtless owing to its having been laid waste by the Scots. Another ecclesiastical assessment, the "Nonarum Inquisitio" made in A.D., 1340, states that the tithes (valued at the same sum as in the "Verus Valor") were that year assigned to the maintenance of John de Banestre and his companions in the garrison of Berwick. By A.D. 1535 the value of the vicarage had fallen to £4 8s. 0d.

At the end of the thirteenth century the Bolbec Barony, on the failure of the male line, passed to two co-heiresses, Margery, wife to Ralph Fitzwilliam of Greystoke, and Philippa, wife to Roger de Lancaster. In the partition that took place between their representatives, William de Greystoke and Robert de Herle, in A.D. 1335, the manor of Heddon fell to the former, and so descended, like the Barony of Morpeth, through the Dacres to the Howards, Earls of Carlisle.⁴³

By analysing the entry relating to the Bolbec Barony in the *Liber Niger*,⁴⁴ we find that in 1168, Whitchester and Houghton were, together with Wallington, held by Hugh de Craudene as one knight's fee; and West Heddon by 'Gospatricius' as $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee. Some time before then Hugh de Bolbec had given 'Hedwine' (East Heddon), and Angerton with Matfen, Fenwick, etc., etc., to William de Lisle, to whom, and his heirs, Walter de Bolbec confirmed them;⁴⁵ but though, on William de Lisle's death, his nephew Robert de Lisle succeeded to the other lands in this grant, he appears to have lost both Hedwine and Angerton, in spite of the sums he paid (1187-1197), to have legal recognition of his rights.⁴⁶

The "Testa de Nevill" gives us the names of the sub-tenants of the Bolbecs in Heddon parish about A.D. 1240:—

Wydo de Araynis held East Heddon as $\frac{1}{4}$ knight's fee; Sibilla de

⁴³ The manor of West Heddon, however, appears to have fallen to Herle, and (with the Bolbec portion of Bywell) to have been conveyed through the families of Hastings, Neville, and Fenwick, to Mr. W. B. Beaumont.

⁴⁴ Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., iii., p. 302.

⁴⁵ 'Walt. de Bolebec sal.—me redidis Willo de Insula homini meo et heredibus ad tenend. de me terras illas quas pater meas p. servitio donavit ei etc.'—Hodgson's *Northd.*, II., i., p. 167n.

⁴⁶ *Magnus Rotulus Pipæ*.—Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., iii., pp. 43, 45, 48, 50, 55, 57, 60.

Crauden, Whitcheſter and Houghton; Eustace Delaval, Eachwick, as $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee; and Robert de Hydewin del West, West Heddon, as $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee; while Roger de Wyceſter paid 11d. a year for forty acres of land in Heddon-on-the-Wall, and Robert de Wyceſter 15d. for the ſame number there.

It is remarkable that the family which took its name from Whitcheſter, and afterwards, inter-marrying with the Delavals, became of conſiderable importance in the county, had already ceaſed to hold it. From the Craudens Whitcheſter and Houghton paſſed, probably by marriage, to the Turpins.⁴⁷ In A.D. 1290, Richard Turpin of Houghton had a great lawſuit with the Prior of Tynemouth, to which monaſtery Wylam belonged, in order to ſettle the boundary between them. The chief point in diſpute was whether Turpin or the Prior had moſt right to one half of 10 acres of moor, 20 acres of ploughed land, and 60 acres of wood in Houghton. The deſcription⁴⁸ of the boundary of theſe is moſt intereſting, from mentioning many ancient local names and ſeveral old roads that may have been Roman. It ran north from the "Thwertonerdyk" (as the Roman Wall was then called) to the ſtream running between the "Strother" of Houghton and that of Rudcheſter,⁴⁹ then weſt along this ſtream to the "Redeſford," then down it ſouth to the "Holleford," and ſet down further to "Rysdenburne"⁵⁰ and on to the ploughed land of Wylam. It then kept to the ditch of this land to the "lonning" that led out of Wylam Wood, when it again turned ſouth, following the "Sygpeſth-way"⁵¹ between Houghton Wood and Wylam Wood as

⁴⁷ Yet the Whitcheſters ſeem to have been back again at Whitcheſter in 1251, when 'Roger Wytceſtr' had a grant of free warren in Whitcheſter, 'Hencton' (Houghton?), and Benwell. *Cal. Rot. Chart.* 35. Hen. iii. ſecunda pars, mem. 3. (See Hodgſon's *Northd.*, III., ii., p. 390). 'Torphinus' was an old name in the North: we meet with it in 1219.—Hodgſon's *Northd.*, III., i., p. 230. The famous or infamous Dick Turpin had no connection with theſe parts, being the ſon of a farmer at Thackſtead, in Eſſex. He ſettled at Beverley as a horſe-ſtealer, and was hung at York, 17th April, 1739. The ride aſcribed to him by Ainsworth was really performed by Neviſon ('Swift Nick') about 1676.—*Records of York Caſtle*, Twyford & Griffiths, p. 251.

⁴⁸ Placita de Banco, Paſchæ, anno 18 Edw. I., rot. 76.—See Hodgſon's *Northd.*, II., iii., p. 282n.

⁴⁹ 'Houghton Strother' ſeems to have been to the north of the Wall, and a continuation of the Haſſock Bog.

⁵⁰ 'Holleford' probably has ſome connection with Holleyn Hall. 'Rysdenburne' ('Ryſdenburne'?) is now the Rift Dean Burn.

⁵¹ The 'Sygpeſth-way,' judging from the indications of its direction here given, led from the Street Houſe—George Stephenson's birthplace—to the Roman ſtation at Rudcheſter.

far as Wylam Haugh. Here it took an easterly direction along the ditch between Wylam Haugh and Houghton Wood to the west end of "Albery Strother,"⁵² skirting this it made south to the west side of the Pools, then west along a certain ditch to a rivulet that ran to the water of Tyne. The right of grazing in common on Houghton Moor was to be reserved to the prior—as far as the "Thwertonerdyk" on the west side, then past the west side of the "Brounehille"⁵³ and "Hyndeshawe" down south by the "Greneleghe"⁵⁴ to the "Sygpeth-waye," as the prior had held it by a boundary which began at the north of Wylam Moor; then went down to the south along the "Thwertonerdyk" to the "Thornrawe," and from the "Thornrawe" south to Martin's Pool⁵⁵ and so to the "Alde-heway."⁵⁶ Continuing south down "Alde-heway" to beyond the "Ravenesbourne"⁵⁷ it returned to follow this, with some trifling deviations, south to the "Standande-stan"⁵⁸ and kept on in the same direction across the "Fyscher-way"⁵⁹ to the water of Tyne. The jury consisted of twelve knights; Richard Turpin won the day.

This Richard Turpin presented Ralph de Thuysill, as perpetual chaplain, to the chantry of the Close in Heddon parish.⁶⁰ Ralph de Thuysill died on Saturday, the feast of the Translation of the blessed Thomas the Martyr (7th July), A.D. 1312; and by some means a certain John Abel contrived to be admitted by the Bishop of Durham (Richard de Kellawe) to the chaplaincy, disregarding the fact that Richard Turpin's son and heir, 'John called (*dictus*) Turpyn, lord of the town of Qwychestr,' had presented Laurence de Hunnyngburn (or

⁵² 'Albery' appears to have been the name of an old English settlement near Close House, which, owing to the corruption of 'Albery' into 'Abbey,' was afterwards incorrectly called 'Abbey-le-Close.'

⁵³ 'Bromehille' (?), now Broomy Hill, covered with wood, between Houghton and Close House.

⁵⁴ Now Close Lee.

⁵⁵ One of the ponds either to the north or the south of Houghton.

⁵⁶ The 'Old Highway;' a road leading direct from Houghton to Wylam.

⁵⁷ Now 'Raven's Dean,' along the lower part of the Close House avenue. The upper part of the burn seems to have been put into field-drains.

⁵⁸ The two 'Standing Stones' in the grass field north of the Newburn and Wylam Railway, near Stannerford; the tops of them are now only just visible. Their excavation might lead to some discoveries.

⁵⁹ The 'Fisher Way.' The road down the Tyne valley here was so called. From Newburn the 'Fish Path' strikes across the fields through West and East Denton Denes towards Elswick Lane.

⁶⁰ *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* (Rolls Series), I., p. 423, referred to in Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, p. 30.

Homborn). Turpyn remonstrated; and on the 9th of June, 1313, the Bishop wrote from Auckland to the Archdeacon of Northumberland at Newcastle, bidding him inquire, '*in proximo pleno loci capitulo*,' of the neighbouring rectors and vicars as to the value of the chantry and the true patron. The Archdeacon and ruridecanal chapter (among whom were Thomas, vicar of Newburn, and Thomas, vicar of Heddon-on-the-Wall) met on the 12th of June, and reported in favour of John Turpyn and Laurence de Hunnyngburn, the latter of whom had, they stated, led a praiseworthy life (*laudabiliter conversatus*) in the archdeaconry for upwards of fifteen years; the chantry was worth 60 pence annually. John Abel did not appear at this inquiry, and thus rendered himself liable to the pains of contumacy. The Bishop, however, wished to treat him leniently; and on Aug. the 6th wrote from Stockton again to the Archdeacon, to cite Abel to appear in the Galilee at Durham, on the Thursday next before the Assumption of the Virgin (15th August),⁶¹ and on the following day, foreseeing that he would be unable to preside at the court in person, issued a commission to determine the whole matter.⁶²

The Turpins appear not to have remained content with securing the patronage, but to have taken actual possession of the chantry property. At any rate, on the 2nd December, 1415, Henry V. at Westminster directed a writ to the Escheator of Northumberland, to inquire into the possessions of the chantry called 'le Cloos,' some of which were suspected to have been abstracted and alienated; and from the report of the inquiry, held at the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the first Thursday in January, 1416, before Robert Lisle, the Escheator, and a jury of twelve, we learn that there belonged to the chantry a messuage, a chapel, fifty acres of tillage, and ten acres of meadow, all surrounded by a ditch, but that these had all been in the possession of Nicholas Turpyn, for his own use and profit, ever since the 16th of April, 1391, but by what right they, the jury, could not say. After this wholesale appropriation on Turpyn's part, the jury were naturally able to add that no one else had taken anything from the chantry in question.⁶³

In a curious French document, dated London, 2nd March, 1377,

⁶¹ *Reg. Pal. Dun.*, I., p. 409.

⁶² *Ibid.* I., p. 410.

⁶³ *Cal. Inq. ad quod damnum*, p. 369. 2^o Hen. V., No. 10. See Appendix B.

Joan, widow of William de Graystok, the Good Baron of Morpeth (and of Anthony, the last Lord Lucy of Cockermouth and Langley, who died in the Holy Land in 1368), gives the custody of Nicholas, son and heir of Thomas Turpin of Whitchester, during his minority, to John de Belasise.⁶⁴

At the Inquisition taken in 1412, to prove the age of William de Carnaby of Halton, Nicholas Turpyn gave evidence that he was in the church at Carnaby's baptism in 1391, and, in corroboration, mentioned that in going home he met divers huntsmen chasing a fox out of his wood. By a singular coincidence, another witness was John Bellasis, probably the same as Turpyn's guardian, who, while hunting a hare in the company of his friends, John Strother and Thomas Haslirigg, met the women carrying the young Carnaby to church.⁶⁵

At some time between A.D. 1415 and A.D. 1424,⁶⁶ Houghton appears to have passed by marriage to the family of Reade, while a younger branch of the Turpins continued at Whitchester.⁶⁷ A sort of Old

⁶⁴ "As toutz ceux qui cestz lettres verount ou orrount, Johanne de Graystok, dame de Morpath, salut en Dieu. Sachetz nous avoir graunte a Johan de Belasise del counte de Northumbre, la garde de corps et des terres ensemblement od la mariage Nicholays fitz et heire Thomas Torpen de Whechestre esteant en nostre garde per la mort de dit Thomas, et a cause de nounage le dit heire. Et pour ceo que le dit Thomas les dits terres de nous tient per service de chivaler. A avoir et teigner au dit Johan, ses executours et assignez a le ditz garde et mariage tanque au pleine age le dit heire ensemblement od toutz autres comoditez et profitz que purrount sourder et avener en le mesne temps par cause de garde durant la nounage de dit heire et nous l'avandite Johanne dame de Morpath la dite garde de corps et des terres od la mariage de dit heire ensemblement od les profitz avantditz au dit Johan de Belasise garaunteroms et defendroms contre toutz gentz par y cestz noes lettres. Done a Loundr' desoutz nostre sealle le secunde jour de Marce, l'ane nostre seigneur le Roy Edwarde tierce pui le Conquest synkauntisme."—Ancient Roll printed in Surtees Soc., 66, p. 296.

⁶⁵ Forster's *History of Corbridge*, p. 193.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Turpyn of Whitchester, 'gentilman,' and Thomas de Reede of the Close, 'gentyman,' gave a bond for 50 marks to Robert Elmet (see *post*, p. 265), to be paid at the feast of St. Peter, 'Ad Vincula,' next ensuing, on 8th June, 1424 (*Newminster Cartulary*, Surtees Soc., 66, p. 261); and Nicholas Turpin and Thomas Reide were on the jury that inquired into the right of presentation to Elsdon Rectory in *Redesdale*, 31st August, 1429.—Hodg. *Northd.*, III., ii., p. 44.

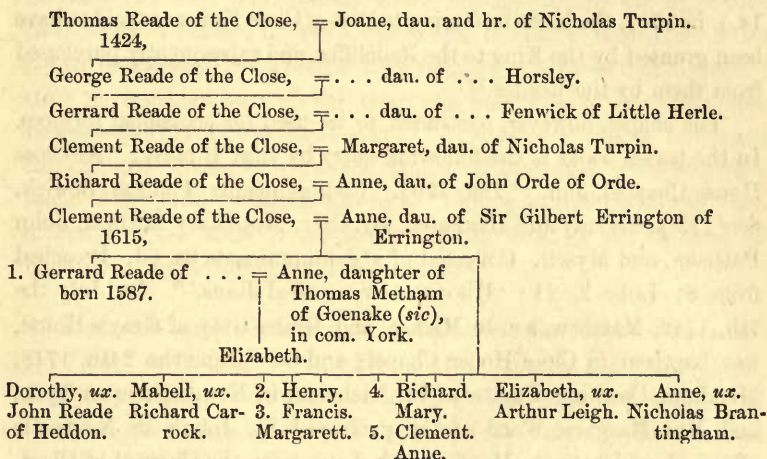
⁶⁷ Nicholas Turpyn of Whitchester, 'armiger,' and William Howden of Bedlington, mason, granted a quitclaim of all their lands and tenements in 'Hughe' (near Stamfordham) to Robert Elmet, 20th July, 1425 (*New. Cart.*, p. 261). Martyn Turpyn heads the Muster Roll for Whitchester in 1538 (see *post*, p. 259), and in the *Liber Feodarii*, 1568, is the entry: 'Turpin Tho Whitchester cu. cert. terris in Cholerton et Howghton' (Hodg. *Northd.*, III., iii., Pref. lxx.). 'Martin Turpen, Esq^r., counstable, of Morpeth,' in 1550 (Hodg. *Northd.*, III., ii., p. 246), was an Enclosure Commissioner in 1552 (*Leges Marchiarum*, p. 331). About the same time Matthew Turpen was a Gentleman Searcher of the Fords within Langley Barony (*Ibid.*, p. 297). The family then disappear, leaving their name in Turpin's Hill (Hall?), a farm-house at Whitchester.

Mortality interest attaches itself to an ancient family that has long been forgotten in the parish where it lived for seven generations; I therefore give the—

PEDIGREE OF READE OF CLOSE HOUSE.

FROM THE NORTHUMBERLAND VISITATION, A.D. 1615.

ARMS.—Or, on a chevron between three garbs gu., as many ears of wheat (?) stalked and leaved arg.



A family of five sons and seven daughters appears to have so encumbered their estates that, in 1620, the Reades sold "the manor, chantry, and chapel of Abbe-le-Close, and the whole hamlet of Houghton"⁶⁸ to Robert Bewicke of Newcastle. They do not seem, however to have forgotten their old inheritance, for "Mr. Clement Read, gentleman in Yorkshire, left by his last will and testament, at his departure in the year 1668 the sum of five pounds to ye churchwardens of ye town and parish of Heddon-upon-the-Wall in stock, and six shillings yearly thereof interest to be distributed unto ye poor of ye town of Heddon the last day of December for ever."⁶⁹

Robert Bewicke of Close House was Mayor of Newcastle in 1628 and 1629. He was the elder son of Andrew Bewicke, Mayor in 1538, who was

⁶⁸ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 6th ed., I., p. 124.

⁶⁹ Heddon Register. The disappearance of all the funds left for the poor at Heddon gave rise to a great scandal. See Mackenzie's *Hist. of Northd.*, Vol. II., p. 374.

the third son of Peter Bewick, Sheriff in 1477 and Mayor in 1490.⁷⁰ His direct descendant, Calverley Bewicke, Esq., of Close House, High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1782, and elected M.P. for Winchelsea in 1806 and 1812, at his death, without issue, in 1815, left the reversion of his estates to his nephew, Calverley Bewicke Anderson, Esq., who thereupon assumed the surname of Bewicke, and Close House is now the property of his grandson.⁷¹

At the dissolution of the chantries by parliament (1 Ed. VI. cap., 14.), in 1547, the lands belonging to that of Close House are said to have been granted by the King to the Radcliffes, and subsequently purchased from them by the Reades.⁷²

The chapel, however, continued to be used for occasional services. In the parish books is the following entry by vicar Birkett: "At Close House Chappel, Jan. y^e 2nd, 170⁸/₉. Communicants Thomas Bewick, Sen^r, Esq., his lady and Daughter, Mr. Carr, Mrs. Mary Mitford, John Pattison, and Myself. Collected of y^e communicants 8s. 0d. Preached from St Luke 2, 21: 'His name was called Jesus.'" On July the 7th, 1712, Matthew, son to Michael and Grace Gray of Gray's House, was baptized in Close House Chapel; and on "June the 24th, 1718, Mr. John Cowling, Curate of St. Nicholas', in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Mrs. Margaret Ward of the parish of St. John's in Newcastle aforesaid, widow, were Married with License in the Chappel of Close-House by Mr. Joseph Carr, Curate of St. John's." At the erection of the present mansion in 1779, the chapel, which stood on the site of the large bow-window, was pulled down.

⁷⁰ The Bewicke family acquired the estate of Urpeth, co. Durham, in 1640: for their full pedigree see Surtees's *Durham*, II., p. 193. William Bewick, of Newcastle, merchant, by his will dated 16th Nov., 1550, gives directions for being buried in St. Nicholas's, 'before Saynte Katheren altar;' and there, until recently, was the family burial-place.

⁷¹ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 6th ed., I., p. 124. The arms of Bewicke are, *Arg., five lozenges in fess gu., between three bears' heads erased sa.* Each lozenge is usually charged with a *mullet arg.*; but these mullets being the difference of a third son, might now be omitted. Peter Bewick, as a second son, differenced the coat when Sheriff, in 1477, with a *erescant gu.*, and when Mayor in 1490 with a *crescent az.* The bears' heads, originally plain, were borne *langued gu.*, by Andrew Bewicke as Sheriff, 1528, and have been subsequently *muzzled or.* The lozenges may be an adaptation of the fusils of Percy or Montagu, and the bears' heads point to Berwick. The crest, *the head of a bugle (or wild ox), erased at the neck arg., armed, maned, and gorged with a mural crown, gu.* (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1st ed., I., p. 93), is now blazoned as a *goat's head, &c. &c.*

⁷² Mackenzie's *Hist. of Northd.*, Vol. II., p. 377, but this is probably fiction, as Close House Chapel was certainly *not* founded by the Ratcliffs of Cartington Castle, as stated by Mackenzie, and no mention of it occurs among the Certificates of Charities existing at the Reformation, preserved at the Public Record Office.

Whitchester township made a good show at the view of Musters⁷³ taken by Sir Reginald Carnaby, Sir John Fenwick, and John Swinbourne, Esq., 19th April 1538; there appeared from it—

“Martyn Turpyn.
John Dixon.
Wyllm Bell.
Thomas Armstrong.
John Croser.

James Bell.
Thomas Bell.
John Bell.
Rychard Symson.
Able with horse and harness.”

James Carr of Whitchester, gent., appears in the list of county freeholders in 1628. In 1663, the whole township valued at £100 a year belonged to Sir Thomas Widdrington, of Cheeseburn Grange.⁷⁴ Only the northern part of the township, the farm of Loudside, now belongs to the Cheeseburn estate. Whitchester proper has come through the Thompsons⁷⁵ to the family of Johnson; while the part south of the Military Road, known as High Seat, was purchased from a family called Mills in the county of Durham, by Mr. Dobson, of Harlow, at the beginning of the century.⁷⁶

Eachwick would seem to have been, after the English conquest, the “wig” or fortified abode of a noble bearing a name like Acca. Half the manor of Eachwick was given to the prior and convent of Hexham, about A.D. 1140, by Robert, son of Hubert de la Vale and his mother Richolda; and Richolda confirmed to them her rights in

⁷³ *Arch. Æl.*, IV. (O.S.), pp. 173-4. A plantation in the north-west part of Whitchester township is known by the name of Scythesand Wood. Nothing is more treacherous than the superficial etymology of place-names; but Alfwold, King of Northumberland, was murdered by a conspiracy headed by the ealdorman Sigcan, on 17th September, 788, at a place called Scythlescester near the Wall (*in loco qui dicitur Scythlescester juxta murum*), *Syn. Dun. Hist. Regum*, sec. 54., and there seems no reasons for concluding this to have been CILURNUM. A church, dedicated to SS. Cuthbert and Oswald, was built on the spot, which is an argument against suggesting it to have been Whitchester. Whitchester, however, was once a much more important place than we now imagine. I do not know why a well at the south end of the township is called Finer's Well; there seems to have been no family of that name in the district. An enthusiast on the subject of holy wells would, I suppose, remind us of the saintly Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne.—(See *ante*, p. 244.)

⁷⁴ Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., i., p. 290.

⁷⁵ Mackenzie's *Hist. of Northd.*, Vol. II., p. 377.

⁷⁶ The Dobsons (said to have come from Patterdale, in Westmoreland) served in Cromwell's army, and participated in the plunder of Dundee. One of them married Jane, dau. of John Ridley of Hardriding. Mr. Dryden, the present owner of the High Seat, has in his possession an unredeemed bond showing that 'John Dobson of Harley-upon-the-Hill, yeoman,' lent £50 to Ralph Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange, and William Widdrington, his son, on 16th May, 1699, to be repaid on the 14th Dec. following. The indebtedness of Jacobite families made them often callous of losing their nominal estates in the Stuart cause.

the other moiety. The Delavals held the adjoining manor of Dissington *in capite*. The tenants of the demesne lands of the prior at Eachwick had the right of grinding their corn free at the Dissington mill, the next turn after the lord's; eight of the prior's cottagers there might choose what mill they liked; but his seven bondagers were obliged to take their corn to Dissington, and pay multure, and as an acknowledgment for the profits thus conceded, the lord of Dissington was bound to always rise at the approach of the prior of Hexham and offer him his seat, unless he was prevented 'by the condescension of the superior,' while his lady was every year to offer, on St. Andrew's Day, two corporax cloths at the high altar of Hexham.⁷⁷

During the reign of Henry III., Peter de Faudon gave 7 acres at Eachwick to Hexham Priory. It received also 10 acres there from Thomas de Echewyk. All these grants were, in consequence of the originals having been burnt by the Scots, made the subject of an inquisition taken at Newcastle, the Friday before Holy Cross Day, A.D. 1295, by a jury, on which Richard Turpyn and William de Echewyk served, and confirmed by Edward I. in the charter of Insepimus given there under the Great Seal, 23rd November 1297.⁷⁸

Edward II. granted a license at Pontefract, 12th February, 1323, for the Prior and Convent to further receive, as part of twenty librates to be excepted from the action of the statute of mortmain, one messuage and 18 acres of land at Eachwick from William de Belyncam.⁷⁹

Their next acquisition of rights in this neighbourhood was the result of rather complicated transactions. John de Faudon, lord of that manor, gave, it appears, all his lands in Eachwick, Whitcheater, Harlow, and Dalton, to William de Hoghton, and his lawful issue, at a rent of 25s. 8d. in perpetuity, but in default these lands to revert to himself and his own heirs. This rent-charge he afterwards made over to the Prior and Convent of Hexham. His reversionary interest he gave to Gilbert de Minstre-acres, chaplain, and Thomas de Raneton; and this they transferred also to the Prior and Convent. William de

⁷⁷ Raine's *Mem. of Hexham*, vol. ii. (Surt. Soc., 46), pp. 43-5. It is 'strange that an historian generally so trustworthy should have entirely missed the point of these passages, and represented these singular customs as intended 'to free the prior's tenants at Eachwick from any charge for multure.'—*Ibid.* Preface, pp. xxiii.-iv.

⁷⁸ Raine's *Hexham*, ii., pp. 108, 114.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* ii., p. 132.

Hoghton did die without issue,⁸⁰ and Gilbert 'le Milnestonacres' obtained a special license from Edward III. at Reading, 20th June, 1347, to assign the lands in question, consisting of 9 messuages, 161 acres of arable, and 5 acres of meadow, to the Prior and Convent.⁸¹ They accordingly took possession of 5 husband-lands of 24 acres each, with cottages at Eachwick, but they failed to enter on the lands at Harlow, in Prudhoe Barony, for want of a license from the Earl of Angus, who was John de Faudon's immediate over-lord there.⁸² This license, strange to say, they never applied for, though the Black Book, completed in A.D. 1479, still has a careful memorandum that the scattered lands of John de Faudon might always be recognised by the fact of their being the southernmost of the long strips into which the arable fields of the peasantry were then divided.

The Black Book of Hexham gives⁸³ a list of the possessions of the House at Eachwick which is worth translation on account of the curious local names borne by them in the fifteenth century.

The Prior and Convent, then, held there one capital messuage—the hall, or manor house—with four gardens and two tofts; also, a ploughed croft of half-an-acre on the north side of the "Hellilaw-thornes," another containing a rood of meadow to the north near the manor-house, and a third of half-an-acre to the west on the 'Hogh-lawe.' They held also 88 acres of demesne land (in tillage) there, viz. :—

				Acres.	Roods.
On the "Park-flatt" ...	...	...	...	4	1
On the "Strothre flatt" ...	...	...	...	4	0
In the "Hope" ...	...	...	...	2	0
At "Chereyarde-syd" ⁸⁴ and "Dalton-hogh" ...	...	...	...	2	3
On "Swarden-syde" ⁸⁵ ...	...	...	...	2	0
On "Goseacre" ...	...	...	...	1	0
On "Medeburne-syde" ⁸⁶ ...	...	...	...	5	2
At the "Honnle-therne" ...	...	...	...	1	0
On the "Brome-landes" ...	...	...	...	4	0
On the "Schot-well" ...	...	...	...	1	2
On the "Ra-syd" ...	...	...	...	0	3
In "Calf-strothre" ...	...	...	...	0	2
At the "Lonyngton-heved" ...	...	...	...	0	2
The "Hare-law" ...	...	...	...	1	0

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ii., p. 46. In the *Originalia*, 3 Ed. iii. Ro. 12. Nicholas de Hoghton pays (A.D. 1330) 50s. for having a license to give a lay fee in Heddon-on-the-Wall and Whitecheter, to be held in mortmain.—Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., ii., 305. The fee in question consisted of 90 acres in Whitecheter and Heddon-on-the-Wall, and an annual rent of 20s. Nicholas de Hoghton gave these to the Abbey of Blanchland.—*Ibid.* III., i., p. 68. See Appendix C.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* ii., p. 141.

⁸² *Ibid.* p. 46.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁸⁴ 'Cherry-yard-side' (?), a very tempting name! In the MS. of the Black Book, Cheeseburn, between Eachwick and Stamfordham, is called 'Chereburghe' (Raine's *Hexham*, ii., p. 52). Cf. Cherryburn—the birthplace of Bewick.

⁸⁵ There is still a Swardenburn in Eachwick.

⁸⁶ The Med Burn runs through Eachwick and South Dissington to the Pont.

On "Hobbis-flatt," the east side ...	...	...	4	2
On either side of the "Gladin-croke" ...	...	...	4	2
Near the "Out-ganges" ...	...	...	6	0
On either side of the "Gladin-croke" ⁸⁷ ...	...	...	4	2
On the "Hegh-lawes," the south side ...	...	...	1	0
To the north of John de Naffirton's garden in two places ...	...	...	3	0
On the "Stane-flatt" ...	...	...	3	1½
To the north of the "Brad-medowe" ...	...	...	1	0
On the "Lame-rodies," in the middle ...	...	...	1	0
On the South-kelawes, ⁸⁸ in the middle ...	...	...	4	2
To the south, on the "Hegh-lawes," in the Lang-landes ...	...	...	3	0
On the "Treuen-brige" ...	...	...	0	2
On "Elly-bank" ...	...	...	1	0
At the east end on the "North-hope" ...	...	...	1	0
To the west side on the "Hare-lawe" ...	...	...	1	2
At the west end, on the "Ra-syd" ...	...	...	0	3

Of meadow, they held half-an-acre in "Calf-strothre," and three roods in the "Lym-kylne-medow."

The whole of these demesne lands were divided into four husband-lands.

Seven acres of demesne meadow were kept in hand, and let out annually to the several tenants at the lord's will. For this grass 10s. a year was formerly paid, but now only 9s.

The Prior and Convent had also a fee farm rent of 8d.; 18 acres called "Fre-Mayden's-Land," or "Bellingeham's-Land"; seven lots of 24 acres each held by Bondagers; 8 cottages, with small holdings attached to them; and John de Faudon's 5 husband-lands of 24 acres each.

In all, there had been formerly twenty-two holdings which at the end of the fifteenth century had come to be in the hands of eight persons. The Scottish raids and the Wars of the Roses may account for this and the number of ruined tofts and waste lands. As a picture of the state of village society in Northumberland at the time, the names of these persons, the nature and extent of their holdings, and the rents paid, shall be here given :—

JOHN DE AYNWYK—

A demesne husband—land, including the toft called the capital messuage, with a garden and two crofts 30 acres; rent, 16s.

JOHN DE BRENKLAW—

One-third of three demesne husband-lands, let for 17s., and containing 57 acres ... 19 acres; rent, 5s. 8d.

A Freehold Farm, with cottage held by fealty...	...	8	"	"	0s. 8d.
A "bondagium," with a waste toft ...	...	24	"	"	6s. 0d.
A cottage with a croft ...	...	3	"	"	1s. 0d.
Two cottages with a waste croft ...	...	6	"	"	3s. 0d.
Brewery ...	...	...	...	...	1s. 0d.

60 acres; rent, 17s. 4d.

⁸⁷ This land seems to be twice entered.

⁸⁸ Kyloe is still the name of a farm in Eachwick.

ROBERT WATSON—

One-third of the three demesne husband-lands	19 acres ; rent, 5s. 8d.
A "bondagium," with a toft	24 " " 9s. 6d.
A cottage... ..	1 " " 0s. 6d.
<hr/>	
	44 acres ; rent, 15s. 8d.

ROGER SMYTH—

One-third of the three demesne husband-lands	19 acres ; rent, 5s. 8d.
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JOHN ANNOTSON—

Fre-Mayden's, or Bellingham's-Land, with a toft	18 acres ; rent, 6s. 0d.
The "Brewing-land," a cottage and waste toft	2 " " 2s. 0d.
<hr/>	
	20 acres ; rent, 8s. 0d.

JOHN DE SYRE, "nativus domini"—

A waste "bondagium," with a toft	24 acres ; rent, 8s. 0d.
A "bondagium," with a croft built	24 " " 10s. 6d.
Two cottages, one being built	6 " " 2s. 0d.
A husband-land	24 " " 6s. 0d.
A husband-land	24 " " 6s. 0d.
<hr/>	
	102 acres ; rent, 32s. 6d.

ADAM MILNER—

A "bondagium," with a toft	24 acres ; rent, 6s. 0d.
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WILLIAM HOGISSONE—

A "bondagium," with a waste toft	24 acres ; rent, 6s. 0d.
A husbandland, with a croft built	24 " " 5s. 0d.
A husbandland	24 " " 5s. 0d.
A cottage, with a croft	" " 3d.
<hr/>	
	72 acres ; rent, 16s. 3d.

MATTHEW WALLER—

A "bondagium," with a toft	24 acres ; rent, 8s. 0d.
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AMABILL DE ROSSE—

Two cottages, one being built	6 acres ; rent, 3s. 6d.
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The largest farmer in the village appears from this to have been John de Syre, the 'nativus domini,' or serf. This is very remarkable if it be true that at that time, in the eye of the law, a 'nativus domini' was 'really a slave, and belonged to his lord as much as the negro did to the planter.'⁸⁹

The tenants of the Priory had pasture in common on the moor between Eachwick and Whitchester ; but they might not cut 'brueras,' or turf, on this common, unless the tenants of the manor of Whitchester did so too. The total of the lands of the Priory, besides the common, appears to have been about 437 acres, the rents £6 17s. 11d.

⁸⁹ Raine's *Hewham*, ii., Pref., p. xx.

By the time of the Reformation, the names of all these tenants in Eachwick had disappeared. A survey⁹⁰ said to have been made at the dissolution of Hexham Priory A.D. 1536, contains the following particulars of the tenants there :—

“RICHARD WALTERS—

a tenement with edifices.

one cloose of medow in the Lawe West field $\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

arable land 5 ”

in the West-more 12 ”

17 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres; rent, 16s. 4d.

THE WYFE OF NICHOLAS CLERKE—

a tenement.

one cloose in the Weste-felde ... $\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

medoo 3 ”

land arable 10 ”

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres; rent, 13s. 4d.

THE WYFE OF ROBERT BOWRE—

a tenement.

a cloose in the felde $\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

medoo 3 ”

land arable 13 ”

16 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres; rent, 21s. 8d.

ROBERT WALLS—

a tenement.

a garth in the felde $\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

medoo 4 ”

land arable 10 ”

14 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres; rent, 21s. 6d.

THOMAS ELLESON—

a tenement.

one croft in the West-felde ... $\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

medo 2 ”

land arable 8 ”

10 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres; rent, 12s. 6d.

WILLIAM BOWRE—

a tenement with edifices.

medoo in the West-felde 2 acres.

land arable 4 ”

6 acres; rent, 8s.”

All these tenants had common of pasture. The total of this rent-roll comes to 93s. 4d. for 77 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres.

The Abbey of Newminster was also possessed of lands in Eachwick under the following circumstances :—

On 3rd May, 1386, John Basset, son of William de Whalton and Isabel his wife, sister and heir of John Basset, of Cowpen, granted all his lands and tenements in ‘Echewyke’ to John de Whitlawe. The execution of this deed was witnessed at Eachwick by Alexander de Cresswell, John de Midelton de Slikburn, Will. de Cramlington, Robert de Bellingham de Hirste (?), William de Spens,

⁹⁰ Raine's *Hexham*, pp. 164-5.

and many others.⁹¹ These same lands,⁹² which appear to have formed part of the dowry of Marjory Lisle, wife of William de Mitford, 'gentilman,' of Mitford, and to have consisted mainly of four husbandlands and two cottages, were granted by his son John de Mitford to Robert Elmet by a deed dated Eachwick, 26th June, 1426, in the presence of Sir William Heron, sheriff of Northumberland, Sir John de Mydylton, escheator of the county, Robert de Musgrave, Nicholas Turpyn, Simon de Weltiden, and others, with an accompanying proviso that if within the four following years, John de Mitford should pay ten pounds of good and lawful money of England to Robert Elmet or his heirs, &c., at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of Stamfordham, this grant should be void, and John de Mitford re-enter into possession at the expiry of a year, during which Robert Elmet was to remain at the rent of 23s.⁹³ The £10 was no doubt the original purchase money, and the 23s. represented the interest yielded by that amount invested in land at that time. In order that no questions arising from settlements or entails might invalidate this grant, John and Marjory de Mitford gave a bond for £45 to Robert Elmet, 28th June, 1425, which, however, was to be of no effect as long as he continued undisturbed in his possession by them and their heirs⁹⁴. On 8th May, 1489, Robert Elmet of 'Echewyk' granted there these lands to John Androwson, chaplain, William Jaye, and Alexander Watson of Morpeth, and constituted Robert Horsley, of Mylnburn, his attorney for giving them possession: on the 15th of May, at Morpeth, he confirmed the transfer of them by these trustees to Robert Charleton, abbot of Newminster, and his convent.⁹⁵ To be perfectly safe, the abbot got Bartrand de Mitford, of Mitford, to renounce any possible right he might have to them, by deed at Newminster, 31st December, 1489.⁹⁶

The half of the 'demeynes de Echewyk,' which had been in the occupation of John Mastilion deceased, was conveyed, at Eachwick, 10th April, 1466, by Robert Preston to William Thomson, merchant; as was also a messuage there, inhabited then by William Elder, and formerly by his father Thomas Elder, to Thomson and Agnes his wife, 24th April, 1467. As security, Preston granted Thomson and his wife an annual rent-charge of four marks issuing from his lands at Hawkwell, and from a messuage at Eachwick, then inhabited by Robert Whyte, 20th February, 1472; this rent-charge, however, was to be suspended as long as they were left in peaceable possession of the mediety and messuage. Subsequently, by deed dated Eachwick, 4th December, 1475, Preston conveyed all his lands and tenements there to Thomson. In May, 1489, Thomson and his wife conveyed the same to John Androsen, chaplain, William Harle, and William Jay, by deed at Newcastle, and constituted Christopher Rawe their attorney for giving possession: on the 16th of the same month there, they assented to the transfer of these lands to the abbot and convent of Newminster.⁹⁷

On the Muster Roll of 1538 only "Henry Blaklok, James Atchison, and Rauf Wallis" are returned for Eachwick, and they had "naither hors nor harnes." In the Feodary's Book, 1568, certain lands and tenements in Eachwick are mentioned as held by James Dodd and the heirs of John Ellison.⁹⁸

After the Reformation, Roger Fenwick of Bitchfield purchased Eachwick Hall and divers lands of the Crown, to be held by fealty only, as of the manor of East Greenwich, subject to a certain fee farm

⁹¹ *Newminster Cartulary*, Surtees Soc., 66, p. 196.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 194.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 191 and 2.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 190.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 193.

⁹⁶ Bertram Mitford did so as grandson and heir of John Mitford, not as Overlord of Eachwick, as is erroneously stated by the editor of the *Cartulary*.

⁹⁷ *Newminster Cartulary*, pp. 186-90.

⁹⁸ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III., iii., Pref., p. lxx.

rent, and in 1589 he settled the same on Anthony Fenwick, his second son. On 22nd Nov., 1611, George and Peter Ward sold to Mark Errington of Ponteland, as trustee for Anthony Fenwick, and George his son, a messuage and three farms in Eachwick. These and other lands Errington afterwards transferred to George Fenwick of Newcastle, merchant.

PEDIGREE OF FENWICK AND SCURFIELD OF EACHWICK.⁹⁹

ARMS OF SCURFIELD.—Gu., a bend dancettée between six martlets arg. Crest.—A hand gauntleted ppr. holding a pistol.

"The Scurfields of Eachwick were descended from Thomas de Scrutevill, lord of half the vill of Kibblesworth, co. Durham, A.D. 1356."—Surtees' *Durham*, ii., p. 216-18.

Sir John Fenwick of Wallington and = Margery Harbottle of Bitchfield.
Fenwick, 1528.

John Fenwick of Fenwick, &c. Roger Fenwick of = Ursula Heron.
Bitchfield, 1538.

Roger Fenwick of Bitchfield, a gentleman = Margaret Widdrington.
of the Middle Marches, 1550, pur-
chased lands in Eachwick, 1589.

Roger Fenwick of Bitchfield, 1622. Anthony Fenwick = ...
of Eachwick, liv-
ing in 1611.

John Fenwick of Eachwick, = ... George Fenwick, = ...
gent., 1628. merchant adven-
turer, of New-
castle.

Ann, only child, d. unmarried.

Margaret Fenwick = William Scurfield¹⁰⁰
sold Eachwick to Sir
Thos. Widdrington,
1654.

Ralph Scurfield, gent., re-purchased Each- = Jane . . . , d. 12th May, 1689.
wick in 1670, from Thomas, Lord
Windsor, and Ursula his wife, daugh-
ter of Sir Thomas Widdrington, d.
16th Feb.. 1675.¹⁰¹

Ralph Scurfield of Eachwick, Esq., High = Sarah Bell, widow of Jonathan Pilsbury
Sheriff of Northumberland, 1699, d. of Newcastle, shipowner.
s. p. 1st Sept., 1728, and left Each-
wick to his brother-in-law, Edward
Bell.

⁹⁹ *Hodgson's Northumberland*, II., ii., p. 291.

¹⁰⁰ William Scurfield was appointed Under-Sheriff of Newcastle, 10th August, 1642.—Brand, II., p. 190.

¹⁰¹ In the chancel of St. John's, Newcastle, was a stone with the inscription—"Sepulchrum Radulphi Scurfield generosi qui obiit Februarii 16, 1675, et Janæ uxoris ejus quæ obiit Maii 12°, 1689. Quorum filius Radulphus Scurfield Armiger, de comitatu Northumbrie quondam vicecomes, obiit Septembris 1°, 1728."—Brand's *Newcastle*, I., p. 114.

PEDIGREE OF BELL AND SPEARMAN OF EACHWICK.

ARMS OF SPEARMAN.—Az. on a chev., erm. between three tilting spears erect or, headed arg., as many bells sa., for difference.¹⁰² Crest.—A demi-lion rampant holding in his mouth a spear ppr. Motto.—*Dum spiro spero.*

Robert Bell, agent to Sir John Fenwick, = Elizabeth, daughter of James Oliver,
d. 1725, aged 95. owner of the Wine Cellar Stairs,
Hexham, d. 1736, aged 90.

John Bell, of New- castle, d. 1716.	William Bell	Sarah Bell, widow of Ralph Scurl- field of Each- wick, married thirdly, John Ogle of Eg- lingham, Esq., and d. 1756, aged 80.	Edward Bell, of New- castle and of Each- wick Hall, major in Northumberland Militia, died 15th April, 1743; buried at St. John's, New- castle. ¹⁰³	= Mary Atkins, daugh- ter and heiress of William Atkins of Sheraton, co. Dur- ham, d. 23rd July, 1739; bur. at St. John's, Newcastle.	Charles Bell of Each- wick, 1743. ↓
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William Potter = (1) Elizabeth Bell (2) = George Spearman, eldest son of d. 14th April, eldest surviving William Potter 1792, aged 69. son of Philip of Hawkwell, d. Spearman of s.p. 1747. Preston, Esq., b. 1710, d. 1st Nov., 1753.	Sarah Bell, d. unm. 1763.	Ann Bell. d. inf. 1744.	Edward Bell, d. inf. 1744.
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Ralph Spearman of Eachwick Hall, born 4th Sept., 1749, died unmarried 13th July, 1823, aged 74; buried at Heddon- on-the-Wall.	Mary Spearman, born 18th May, 1751, died unmarried 26th February, 1827, aged 76.
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Ralph Spearman of Eachwick acted the part of a great antiquary, so much so that he was erroneously believed to have been the prototype of Sir Walter Scott's 'Jonathan Oldbuck.' It is doubtful, however, whether his learning was even so sound as that of the Laird of Monk-barns.¹⁰⁴ His vanity led him to endeavour to trace his descent and name from the 'lords of Aspramont, a castle and county on the confines of Lorraine and Bar.' His new hall at Eachwick was built entirely for show: being three stories high, with gingerbread battlements, and of great length, though only one room thick. At the time of the window-tax this led to its being rated at a very large sum. Seen from a distance, it quite deceives a stranger by its palatial appearance. Mr. Spearman was so far successful that the neighbourhood still

¹⁰² A lozenge with these arms is engraved on the chalice, paten, &c., given by 'Mrs. Mary Spearman' to Heddon Church in 1824..

¹⁰³ In the cross aisle of St. John's, Newcastle, was the inscription: "Sepulchrum Edwardi Bell et Mariæ uxoris ejus," with the arms of Bell impaling Atkins.

¹⁰⁴ It is fair to mention that Surtees 'considered himself deeply indebted' to Mr. Spearman 'for a variety of useful materials and much interesting information.'—*Hist. Durham*, I., p. 94.

believe that Eachwick belonged to his family for generations. A letter accidentally preserved in the church books at Heddon is a capital illustration of his combined pedantry, liberality, and pride :—

“Mr. Spearman sends enclosed five Shillings, being the Assessed Value of the Movement of the Winnowing part of a Threshing Machine, found by the Coroner and Inquest, a Deodand forfeit to him on the death of Mary Lawson, as Lord of the Manour of Eachwick Hall Lands, by Grant from James first, King of Great Brittain, in the year of our Lord 1610, and requires the Vicar and Church-Wardens of the Parish of Heddon on the Wall to distribute it to the Poor at Discretion. Eachwick Hall, Friday, March 27th, 1813.”

In his will he stated that he was determined to follow “the example of Abraham, and to consider his Eleazar as heir to all his house,” and consequently entailed his property at Eachwick on his steward Mr. Hunter and his elder sons, on condition of their taking the name of Spearman, with a remainder in favour of his very distant kinsmen, the Spearmans of Thornley, co. Durham. In equity the estate should have gone to Sarah Bell, granddaughter of his great-uncle Charles Bell, and wife of Robert Clayton, Esq., of Newcastle. His aged sister survived for about four years, and left written testimony of her gratitude to Mr. Hunter Spearman for the way in which she was treated after her brother's death. The entail was not barred, and took effect on the death of the last Mr. Hunter Spearman, to the prejudice of his younger brother who is a land-owner in the township, and continues to bear the name of Spearman.¹⁰⁵

The family longest connected with Eachwick were the Akensides.¹⁰⁶ The name of Thomas Akenside, gent., of Eachwick, appears on the list of freeholders in Northumberland in 1628; and immediately to the right on entering Heddon Church is a marble tablet to the memory of “Captain William Akenside of the 14th Regmt. of Foot, son of William Akenside, late of Eachwick, who died 22 October, 1830,

¹⁰⁵ The following elaborate coat was ‘granted in 1827 to John Hunter, Esq., on his taking by sign-manual the name and arms of SPEARMAN: *Az. on a chevron erminois, between three tilting spears erect, arg., headed or, three bells sa., and for distinction a canton ermine; the crest being: A lion rampant ppr., with a collar arg., therefrom pendant a bell sa., and supporting a tilting-spear as in the arms; the spear entwined, for distinction, with a branch of laurel ppr.*’—Burke's *General Armoury*.

¹⁰⁶ There is a curious petition of Hugh Akenside, of Hawkwell (near Stamfordham), to Quarter Sessions in 1718, for relief for his wife, he being in Morpeth Gaol for debt. He states that ‘his ancestors had been inhabesters in Hawkwell near 200 yeares.’—*Extracts Sessions Records of Northumberland*, in *Lib. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* Akenside was the name of a place in Redesdale, mentioned in the *Inq. post mortem* of Eleanor, wife of Robert Umfreville, in 1363.—Hodgson's *Northd.*, II., i., p. 110n.

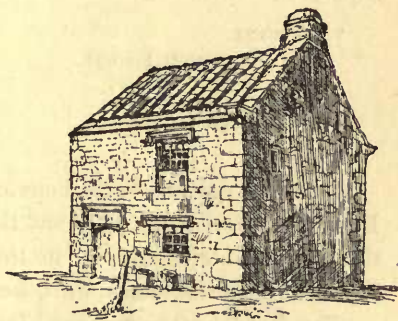
aged 49." Mark Akenside, the poet (1721–1770), belonged to this family, of which his father was a younger son settled in business as a butcher in Newcastle, and it was his uncle of Eachwick who bore all the expenses of his education.¹⁰⁷

Eachwick is entered in the Rate Book of 1663:—¹⁰⁸

"Eachwicke, Castle Ward, West Division.

Sir Tho. Widdrington	£60	Rental.	
Tho. Okenside	£8	"	
Clemt. Barker	£8	"	
Ann Readhead, widd.	£8	"	
Tindale Ward, East Division.			
S'r Tho. Widdrington	£60	Rental.	
Tho. Pattison	£12	"	
Tho. Pattison, junior	£12	"	
Geo. Clark	£8	"	"

WEST HEDDON in 1628 belonged to Mr. John Read, gent., and in 1663 was the property of Mr. Richard Reed valued at £40. But 'John Carr of Eshet and Mrs. Dorothy Hunter of West Heddon were married by Mr. Rayne, March ye 29th, 1687' at Heddon Church. They had several children, and seem to have paid particular attention to the selection of godparents.¹⁰⁹ Mr. John Carr of West Heddon was buried in the church, 20th December, 1738. A marble tablet on the north wall of the chancel commemorates Robert Newton Lynn, Esq.,



¹⁰⁷ Richardson's *Borderer's Table Book*, II., p. 184. The Akensides were Dissenters (see Bucke's *Life of Akenside*, p. 1); their baptisms are consequently entered in the register in the following disrespectful fashion: '3 Mar., 170½, Hannah, daughter to Thomas and Ann Akenside of Eachwick, said to be baptized by somebody;' and 'Abraham, son to Thomas Akenside of Eachwick, a Dissenter, said to be baptized by somebody, 18 Dec., 1716.' Two twins of the family were called Moses and Aaron.

¹⁰⁸ Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., i., pp. 255 and 289. It does not appear how the singular boundaries of the Wards originated. As can be seen from the map accompanying this paper they were not continuous with those of the townships. The vicarage grounds at Heddon and the glebe, form isolated portions of Castle Ward in the midst of Tindale Ward.

¹⁰⁹ 'Thomas filius Johannis et Dorotheæ Carr de West Heddon Gener: Baptizatus erat 22º die Mensis Septembris, 1692. Gulielmo Carr de Eshet Armiger, Martino ffenwick Gener: Domina — ffenwick Susceptor.' The sponsors to their son Ralph, on 28th Dec., 1699, were 'Mr. Michael Mitford et Edward Collingwood et Domina Delavale.'

who died at West Heddon in 1794. West Heddon afterwards became the property of the Misses Peareth of an old Newcastle family, who lived at Heddon House there,¹¹⁰ and they left it to their niece, the late Mrs. George Burdon. To the north of the farmhouse at West Heddon, itself a curious old building, is what seems to be half of a manor-house of the Reads, with a good doorway and Jacobean windows, now used as a cottage.¹¹¹ (See vignette, p. 269.)

At EAST HEDDON, the remains of the ancient residence of a branch of the Fenwick family have been turned into granaries, hen-houses, and cattle-sheds. At the east end of this range there is on the ground-floor a huge kitchen fire-place, and above it one with Tudor details. The windows exhibit delicate mouldings of a later date.

According to the Muster Roll of 1538, Lancelot Fenwick was the principal person in East Heddon at that time:—

“ HEDWYNE.

Lancelott Fenwyk.
Edward Haw.
Wyllm Tomson.
John Talylyor.

Gerard Lauerok.
Edward Tomson.
Henry Brown.
Thomas Broyt'
Able with horse and harness.”

I give the pedigree of the Fenwicks of East Heddon, founded on the Heralds' Visitation A.D. 1615 and the Heddon Registers. It is evident there are great discrepancies in this pedigree, and it requires to be explained from title-deeds, wills, &c.

East Heddon afterwards came into the possession of the Corporation of Newcastle, and was by them sold to the Riddleys of Blagdon.

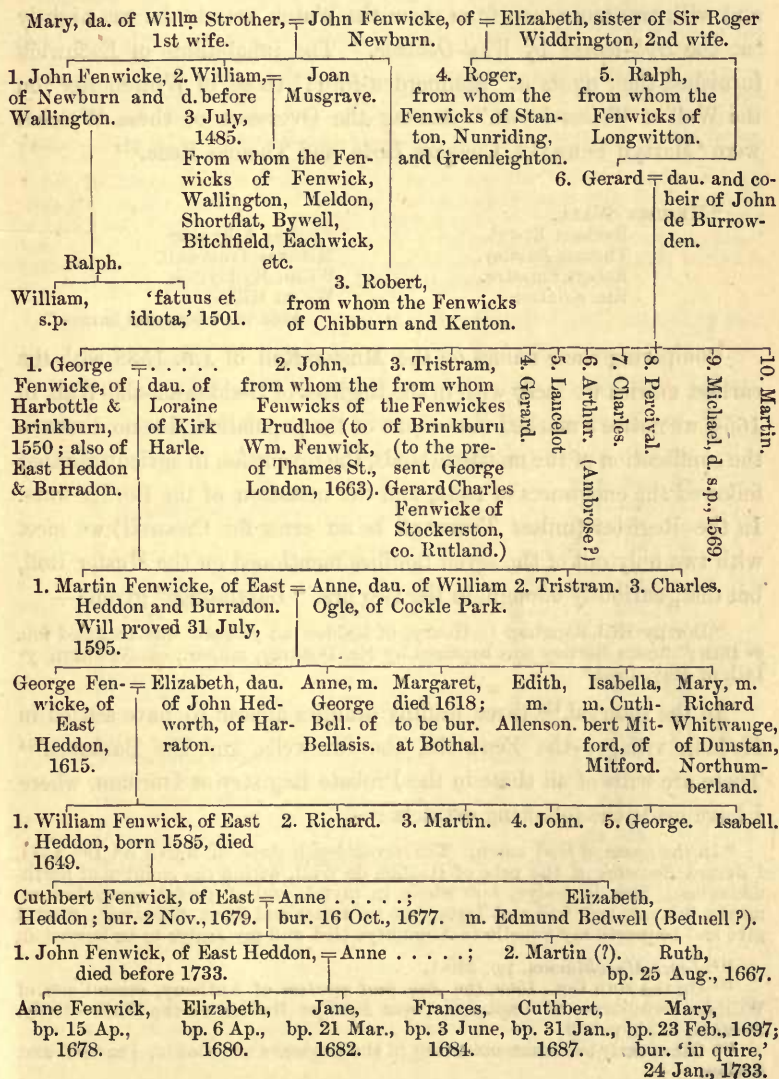
¹¹⁰ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 6th ed., p. 1248. Their father, William Peareth of Usworth (1704-1775), was an Alderman of Newcastle for nearly half a century. It should be noticed, however, that the ancient arms of PENRITH, borne by Thomas Penrith, Sheriff of Newcastle, 1434: *Arg., three chevronels braced in base, gu., on a chief az., a lion passant of the field*, and (with the chief gu.) by John Penrith, M.P., Mayor, 1458, do not correspond with the arms of PEARETH, *Gu., a chevron arg., between three pears or*.

¹¹¹ The 'old Hall' is said to have stood to the east at right angles to this building, and to have faced the south. There are considerable traces of foundations. In the old 'stay-at-home' days, we frequently find a son, on his marriage, building a new house close to his father's.

PEDIGREE OF FENWICKE OF EAST HEDDON.

ARMS:—Quarterly.—1 and 4—Per fess gu. and arg., six martlets counterchanged;
a fleur-de-lys for difference, for FENWICKE.

2 and 3—Arg., three cinquefoils sa., for BURROWDEN.



In 'the Order of the Watches upon the Middle Marches made by the Lord Wharton, Lord Deputy Generall of all the three Marches under my Lord of Northumberland's Grace, the Lord Warden Generall,' in October, 1552, 'the Watch at the Head of *Weltonburn-Inning* and *Nesbet-dyke* was appointed to be set with two men of the Inhabitants of *Heddon of the Wall*, *Thorklaye*, *Est-Hedwen*, *Haughton*, and the *Close*;' and with two more men from them the Watch was to be set nightly 'at the *Holl-banks* by *West-Oustone*.' The inhabitants of Eachwick furnished their quota at 'Stannerden-ford;' those of Whitchester 'on the Wall at *Welton-burne*.' Among the Overseers of these Watches were 'Martyn Fenwyke, Clement Rede, and Thomas Rede.'¹¹²

"HEDDEN WALL.

Rychart Elwyk.
Thomas Bartley.
Robert Slatter.
Ric. Slatter.

Thomas Atkynson.
Mhomas Trumwell.
Willm Myddylton.
Willm Hill.

Able with hors and harnes."

Comparing these names on the Muster Roll of A.D. 1538 with the earliest entries we meet with in the Register of Heddon-on-the-Wall, in 1656, we notice a marked movement of the population, due no doubt to the confiscation of the monastic lands, the revolution in agriculture that followed the enclosures of 1554, and the cessation of the Border wars. In the Register (unless Trumwell be an error for Creswell) we meet with two only out of the seven families mentioned on the Muster Roll, but that, curiously enough, in the two first "Baptissings" given:—

"Dorthy Hill, daughter to Henry, of heddon on y^e wall, was baptised feb. y^e 16th;" "Sara Bertley was baptized by Mr. Dockrey, mnistr., of Newburn, y^e 14th of May, 1656."

In the interval,¹¹³ three leading families appear to have settled in Heddon village—the Fenwicks, the Creswells, and the Barkases.¹¹⁴ There are wills of all these in the Probate Registry at Durham, where I have made the following extracts:—

"In the name of God amen. The seventeenth daye of March A^o. Dni. 1584, I Jerard ffenwick of the pshe of Heddon de Wall, within the countye of northumberland, Sick in bodye, but whole in mynd, and of perfitt remembrance, mayke this my last will and Testament in maner and fform ffolowing: ffirst I give and bequeath my Souelle to Almightye God and my bodye to be buried in

¹¹² *Leges Marchiarum*, pp. 280-1.

¹¹³ On the 30th Oct., 1569, the *Inq. post mortem* of Anthony, second son of William Swinburne, of Capheaton, was held at Heddon-on-the-Wall.—Hodg. *Northd.*, II., i., p. 232.

¹¹⁴ Other early surnames occurring in the Registers are Collin, Peascod, and Archer.

Heddon Church. Itm, I give to John ffenwick, of Barwick, my brother, my Two Tenements, lying and being in Ovington,¹¹⁵ to occupie and enjoye unto such tyme as marmaduke ffenwicke, Sonne unto my brother, Martyne ffenwick, come of lawfull age, at which tyme my will is that my Sayd brother John shall deliver them to the sayd marmaduke, provided that in the meane tyme my sayd brother John shall fine them in his owne name. Also, I give unto my sayd brother John Eight oxen to be delivered to the sayd marmaduke at such tyme as he shall come of Lawfull age, and my sayd Brother John to bring uppe the sayd marmaduke with meat, drink, and cloth, and to keppe him at the scoole all the sayd tyme." Then after providing that if Marmaduke Fenwick died under age, the Tenements were to pass to the heirs male of John, with remainders in default first to the heirs male of his brother Ambrose Fenwick, and then to the heirs male of Martin Fenwick, he proceeds: "And whereas the Tennants dwelling uppon the Two Tenements haith but now remayning ffoure years, if my brother John and they doe not agre, so that they depart from them, my will is yt. my executors give unto them the Somme of six pounds, Thirteen shillings, and fourepenne, to be equallye divided between them." Among the legacies are: "To Martyn ffenwick all the cattle of mine about his house, * * * also, 10 bolls of rye in Longwitton this year, and 10 bolls next year, * * * To Raiph Pearce 2 bolls of rye. To George Shafto 2 kine and one quey, with their calves, that is with Nicholas Clarke, and 12 sheep with John Carnaby, of Langlye. To the poor of Heddon parish 4 bolls of rye. * * * To Anne Read 10s. * * * To Matthew Soppett's wife 1 boll of rye. To George Raymes, 1 bushell of rye. To Gerard Sanderson, one of my best Lambes, and if he dye to be delivered to his father. * * * To James Hobson 1 boll of rye."

He appointed his "breathren Ambrose and John" executors and residuary legatees. The will is witnessed by "Mr. Martyne ffenwick, George fennick, Edward Criswell, Xpfer richardson, Robert Hill, Richard Browne, James Hobson, vicar, Thomas Softlye, George raimes, &c."

The inventory attached to Gerard Fenwick's will is curious:—

"8 oxen	...	...	...	...	£13	6s.	8d.
8 oxen at matphen	..	...	...	...	£9	0s.	0d.
14 kyne	...	...	...	...	£15	0s.	0d.
6 yonge cattle	...	...	...	...	£14	0s.	0d.
4 score and 3 ewes	...	...	...	...	£16	0s.	0d.
12 whethers	...	...	...	...		48s.	0d.
7 rames	...	...	...	...		23s.	0d.
30 sheppe hogges	...	...	...	...	£4	13s.	4d.
6 dinmontes	...	...	...	...	£3	3s.	4d.
3 mayres and a foole	...	...	...	...	£4	6s.	8d.
18 bowlls of oattes	...	...	...	...		46s.	8d.
10 bowlls of wheat	...	...	...	...		53s.	4d.
Otts on the ground	...	...	...	...		49s.	0d.
Wheat on the ground	...	...	...	...		32s.	0d.
more in otts	...	...	...	...		26s.	0d.
rye on the ground	...	...	...	...		27s.	0d.
more 40 bowlls of rye	...	...	...	...	£8	0s.	0d.
30 bowlls of otts	...	...	...	...	£4	0s.	0d.
wheat rye and big at Longwitton	...	...	...	...	£7	0s.	0d.
40 bowlls of ottes	...	...	...	...	£5	6s.	8d.
in swyne	...	...	...	...		12s.	0d.
the waynes, ploughes, and ploughegeare	...	...	...	...		30s.	0d.
in household stuffe	...	...	...	...		40s.	0d.
							£123 4s. 0d."

¹¹⁵ In the Survey of Crown Lands in Northumberland, about 1608, preserved at the Land Revenue Record Office, Marmaduke Fenwick appears as 'an ancient freeholder' of lands at Ovington, late in the tenure of William Carr.

But the most extraordinary thing is the list of moneys, in all £82 15s. 0d. lent out by Gerard Fenwick to nearly a hundred different neighbours. We should now consider him a sort of country banker, but in these days he was no doubt regarded as an usurer. The notices of the cattle at Matfen, the sheep at Langley, and the corn at Long-witton, show how wide the ramifications of farming were in those days, owing to a complicated system of land tenure.

Ann Barkas by her will, A.D. 1585, desired to be buried in Heddon Churchyard. She left her property among her children, George Barkas, Jeffrey Barkas, Anne Barkas, and Elizabeth Grenooe, and appointed as their respective guardians, her brother William Mydleton,¹¹⁶ her brother-in-law Symon Ladleye, William Hill, and Elizabeth Grenooe's father (*sic*) Steven Grenooe. The witnesses were William Mydleton, Symond Ladleye, Steven Grenooe, Edward Stocco, and James Hobson. The inventory was taken by Edward Cresswell, Edward Stoccoc, Matthew Foster, and Jeffrey Barkas.

The will of Anne Cresswell of Heddon-on-the-Wall, 2 March, 1614, directs her body to be buried in Heddon Church, and mentions her sons Anthony, Clement, and Arthur,¹¹⁷ her daughter Margaret Barkas, Isabell¹¹⁸ her son's wife, William Barkas, her son Clement's daughter Mabell Barkas, and her son Arthur's daughter Mabell.¹¹⁹

Through the Hedworths of Harraton, co. Durham, the Cresswells of Cresswell and the Fenwicks of East Heddon were near cousins. Cuthbert Cresswell, a younger brother of John Cresswell of Cresswell, was Queen Elizabeth's supervisor of coal-mines in Northumberland; and Richard Fenwick, her receiver for Wylam and Ellington, employed Robert Cresswell as his deputy. The Cresswells at Heddon lived in a house just east of the churchyard, which was rebuilt in 1821; they eventually farmed a quarter of Heddon-on-the-Wall township. William Cresswell died in 1730 "at least 90 years of age," and there were Cresswells christened at Heddon as late as 1771. About 1780, the

¹¹⁶ The will of a William Middleton, of Heddon, dated 31st March, 1578, is among the Enrolments at Durham.

¹¹⁷ Arthur Cresswell, bur. 18th Sept., 1674.—Hed. Reg.

¹¹⁸ The fact that 'Isabell Cresswell, wiffe to Arthure Cresswell, deputed. October ye 28th, 1671, buried in Hedon upon ye Wall Church,' appears no less than three times in the Registers, once (as above) in the clerk's book, again in Latin in the vicar's small private book, and lastly (with the addition 'de Wal-bottell') as the first entry in the more orderly Register commenced in that year.

¹¹⁹ The will of Thomas Cresswell, of Heddon, proved 1621, is also at Durham.

family are said to have ruined themselves by horse-racing, and their farm was let to Matthew Robson from North Tyne.¹²⁰ It is curious to see how the cadets of ancient houses stayed on at home in their own county, descending from knights and squires to yeomen, and, probably, at last to mere labourers.

At one time in South Northumberland, if a man's name was not Ogle, the heavy odds were that it was Fenwick. According to the *Heralds' Visitations*, Lancelot Fenwick of East Heddon, A.D. 1538, would appear to have been the fifth son of Gerard, the sixth son of John Fenwick, who married the heiress of Wallington. Lancelot had five brothers still younger. Nor was this prolific increase confined to this one branch of the race, so probably there was no exaggeration in the old ballad :—

“I saw cum merching owre the knows,
Fyve hundrid Fennicks in a flock.”¹²¹

It would be difficult to deny that any Fenwick in particular at the present day is not a descendant of so numerous a clan. I have been at some trouble in arranging the various families of Fenwicks entered in the Heddon registers in genealogical tables, which, however, must only be regarded as hypothetically correct. The first entry relating to the main line at East Heddon, is the notice of the burial of Anne, wife of Cuthbert Fenwick, on 16 Oct., 1677; the last, that of the burial of their granddaughter, Mary Fenwick, “in the quire,” 24 Jan., 1733. As regards the families in Heddon village, both Thomas Fenwick who died in 1691, and Martin Fenwick, Lord Carlisle's bailiff, who died in 1709, appear to have been thrice married; the latter had twenty grandchildren. That all these families were branches of the East Heddon family is, I take it, sufficiently proved by their having been buried with them ‘in the quire;’ only a William Fenwick of West Heddon was buried outside in the churchyard on 17 Feb., 1711. Additional evidence of consanguinity is afforded by the fact of Mr. Martin Fenwick of East Heddon having stood godfather to Martin, the sixth son of Bailiff Martin, on 28 May, 1700.

¹²⁰ MSS. Thos. Bates. My father had intended writing an account of various places and families in Northumberland, but unfortunately left few notes towards it. I made, however, memoranda of many of his recollections.—C. J. B.

¹²¹ Ballad of the Redeswire Raid.—*Legendary Ballads of England and Scotland* (Chandos Classics), p. 144.

Among the MSS. in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is a lease for twenty-one years, dated 1590, from the Crown to George Mason, of the corn tithes of Heddon-on-the-Wall, Eachwick, &c., also land and houses at Heddon, late the possessions of the monastery of Blanchland.¹²²

In 1602, depositions were taken by commission at Newcastle in the suit of Clement Anderson *v.* Ellen Mitford, respecting "lands, &c. in Heddon-on-the-Wall, and the tithe of the parish leased originally by the monastery of Blanchland to Roger Mitford and Edmund Claxton, left by Roger to his wife Anne, by her to Oswald Mitford defendant's late husband, and left by him to the defendant."¹²³

The great tithes of Heddon subsequently came into the possession of the Bewickes of Close House, by whom they have been, for the most part, sold to the owners of the respective lands subject to them, in proportion.

The Proceedings of the Court of High Commission, at Durham,¹²⁴ have preserved for us a vivid, though not particularly edifying, picture of William Wilson, vicar of Heddon in 1628. Anthony Todd, then¹²⁵ aged 26, deposes that he "never sawe Mr. Wilson weare the surplisse, saveing at Easter last, albeit he hath been curat at Heddon for a yeare or more. Hath seene Mr. Wilson at sundry tymes sweare and utter these wordes when he was in his drinke 'What he was a squire's sonne;' and soe braveing in this manner of his birth, that none there should be like unto him." Mr. Wilson frequented widow Reed's ale-house, and would sit there drinking her "home-brewed" for an hour or more, "till he got forward in his drink;" then, if anyone advised him to be civil and temperate, and show some respect to his cloth, he would reply: "I doe not greatly care for my coate; I am a squire's sonne, and soe I respect my birth as much as my coate." It is not surprising that the Dean and Chapter of Durham—the see was vacant—sequestered the living, and gave the charge of it to Thomas Taylor, clerk, and

¹²² See Appendix D.

¹²³ 38th Report Dep. Keep. Publ. Rec., p. 439. There is at Durham the will of Oswald Mitforth, of Stamfordham, proved in 1589. The history of the Mitfords, who afterwards settled at Ovingham and Hexham, and came to be represented by the talented Mary Russell Mitford, requires elucidation.

¹²⁴ Surtees Soc. Pub., vol. 34, p. 8.

¹²⁵ Bella Todd, wife to Anthony Todd, smith, in Heddon ye Wall, deputed this life, Aprill ye 9th, 1657.' 'Anthony Todd, deputed this life, Jany. ye 29th, 1657.'—Hed. Reg.

James Carr, gent., of Whitcheſter. But Wilson openly told Carr in church that he would obey no ſequeſtration. The ſequeſtrators had indeed to obtain a citation againſt the pariſhioners, who kept their tithes back from them, and for all of whom, Wilson boated he would answer that “none ſhould ſtirr there feete.” Wilson was thereupon ſuſpended and ordered “to publiquely and penitently acknowledge his offence in his ordinarie apparell;” but on Mr. Taylor ſhowing him this order, he, “in very ſcornfull manner, answered he would obey noe ſuch bible-bables.” The conſequence was that Robert Mitford, the meſſenger of the Court, arreſted Wilson on 29th January, 1629, and with much difficulty, for “in very ſtubborne and peremptory manner” he reſuſed to move, brought him down “the towne-gate of Heddon.” The noiſe of their ſtruggle brought Chriſtopher Hopper¹²⁶ to the door of his houſe, and Mitford drawing out the warrant, required his aſſiſtance “in his Maſtie’s name.” Inſtead of answering, Hopper came and took the vicar’s cloak, in order that he might eſcape more eaſily, and then, leaning againſt his door, laughed and jeered at the meſſenger. At laſt, Mitford propoſed to Wilson that he ſhould go to widow Reed’s, to which he only too readily aſſented. Her ſon, Thomas Reed, gent., aged 21, was bailiff of the town, and Mitford, no doubt, reckoned on his aid, but when he came in he told Mitford that he was no common bailiff, but Lord William Howard’s bailiff, and that, as long as he was in the houſe he would aſſiſt him, but “when,” he ſaid, “you are gone forth of the doores, I know what I have to do,” and, in order that his meaning might be quite clear, added that “it had been well done of the wives of the towne to have joyned together and have ſtoned Mitford forth of the towne, in regard of his hyndering divine ſervice.” Mitford ſaw his errand was hopeleſs, ſo he contented himſelf with taking a bond for £50 from Wilson that he would put in an appearance at Durham; and in the end, after various fines and ſentences of imprisonment, Wilson appears to have got off free, under plea of poverty. Thomas Reed, againſt whom proceedings were alſo inſtituted, ſubmitted at once, but the coſts in his caſe were ſo heavy that he took to flight, and was heard of in London in 1635.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ ‘Chriſtopher Hopper, deſtroyed this life, twenty-fourth day of May, 1657.’—Hed. Reg.

¹²⁷ Surtees Soc., 34, pp. 18-19. John Reede, of Weſt Heddon, gent., was likewiſe proceeded againſt for abuſing Thomas Taylor, clerk.—*Ibid.* p. 15.

Thomas Reed, clerk of Heddou-on-the-Wall, hardly the same person as Lord William Howard's bailiff, prosecuted Isabel Oxley, wife of William Oxley, in 1633-4 for "blasphemous words." She was "accompted a great scoulder;" she had cursed George Fenwick "in verry destestable manner," and greeted Reed with: "Plague light of the and thine beastes, and lett never they nor anie thing thou hast prosper nor doe well!" The penance enjoined led her, it is to be trusted, to mend her ways: time was accorded to do so, as she lived thirty years longer.¹²⁸

William Fenwick, of East Heddou, and his eldest son Cuthbert, were prosecuted for contumacy in connection with the schismatic preaching of Cornelius Glover,¹²⁹ at Heddou. On 16th January, 1638, William Fenwick is stated to have 'fled forth of Northumberland.'¹³⁰ Notwithstanding this it seems these Fenwicks took the Royalist side in the Civil War; for, when General Leslie entered Northumberland with the Scots army in 1644, and on the 3rd of February summoned Newcastle to surrender, Colonel Fenwick, in company with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, sallied out of the town early on the Monday following and routed two regiments of Scots horse at Corbridge. On the 22nd of February the main force of the Scots marched from Newcastle to Heddou-on-the-Wall, where they lay all night in the open field. Advancing next day up the Tyne towards Corbridge, they found themselves confronted by the English cavalry, who, however, retreated in the night, leaving behind them only a Scots Major Agnew, Colonel Fenwick's prisoner, to preserve *Fenwick's house, near Heddou*, from plunder.¹³¹

The earliest Church Registers are contained in a little old book evidently kept by the parish clerks, 1656-1771. The entries are scattered up and down, and the book itself is in a very decayed state. The first baptism entered is that of Dorothy Hill, 16th February, 1655 $\frac{5}{6}$; the first marriage (curiously enough, a civil one, during the Commonwealth), that of "Tho. ffenwick and Mary * * * * In Heddou ye Wall, Lawfully married by Justice Delavel, ye 28th * * * 1657;" and the first Burial that of Henry (?) Hopper, in Heddou Church-yard,

¹²⁸ Surt. Soc., 34, p. 73. 'Isabella Oxley, wife of William Oxley, bur. Dec. 12, 1666.'—Hed. Reg.

¹²⁹ Surt. Soc., 34, p. 111.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 34, p. 110.

¹³¹ Sykes's *Local Records*, I., pp. 94-95.

"ye 9th of May, 1656." In 1663, Thomas Clarke, the first vicar after the Restoration, commenced a neat register in Latin, in a long. parchment book; and this seems to have been continued by some subsequent vicars for their private use. In 1671, a regular register was begun in a proper book, but several entries were copied out of the two older books so that some appear three times over.

The following entries arranged chronologically may prove of interest:—

"Jo. Salvin, sonne to walter salvin, scholmaster, of Heddon on y^e wall, was baptized by Mr. Dockry, y^e 2th of Decembr. 1656.

"Will. Archer, in Heddon on y^e wall, had a daughter baptized by prest Hall, called Margret Archer. March, 1656.

"Barbra Madlen, deyrtd this life Sept. y^e 5th, 1658, and was buried in Heddon Church garth.

"Tho. Hill and Margret Kell Lawfully publised 3 several Sabaths, and Maryed by Mr. Dockery, mnster of newburn, Jun y^e * * 1659.

"Jean Laidler, daughter to William Laidler clarke, off Heddon one the wall, was born in Newton Hall, in y^e Parish of Bywell Peter, and was baptised Jun y^e 12 day, 1662, and dwelt there three years after.

"Georgius filius Edwardi Birkly Molindinarius (*sic*) baptizatus erat Julii 30, 1665.

"Hi Quorum sequuntur nomina sepulti fuerunt a lege conditâ vulgo dictâ 'an act for burying in woollen':¹³² Nicholaus filius francisci Bowmer de Eachwich sepult, legal, 23 Julii, 1679. Jurat-Barbara Crowfoot et Franciscus Bowmar 30 Julii.

"Anna Rea sepulta erat intra Templum 15 Julii, 1696.

"April y^e 20th, 1697. Memdm. yt Anthony Creswell paid Roger Heaton, Church Warden, 4s. for Thos. Fenwick's and his wife's Lair-stones,¹³³ and yt Luke Rea paid 2s. for his wife.

"Anne, Daughter to James Tweddal, in the Queen's Service, and Ursula his wife, Baptised October the 2nd, 1709.

"Henry, son to John and Alice Glendinning of Houghton-Cragg House, baptized 19 Aug., 1711.

"— of East Heddon, a spinner, was buried Aug. 9th, 1719.

"Mrs. Phoebe Martin. buried in the chancel, just without the Rails, and close to the South Wall, 31 March, 1731.

"William Brown, weaver. formerly of this town, buried 4 May, 1731.

"William, son to Edward and Margaret Tate, of Roman Wall house, of Whitchester, baptized 12 July, 1730.

"Thomas, son of Thomas Conyers, Baptized July 9th, 1738.

"Jan. 21, 1741. Buried in the Church-yard, att the east end of the Chancel, a stranger who called himself John Penny, and died att Eachwick, and said he came from Staffordshire.

There seems to have been very great distress about 1700 :—

"Isabella, dau. of Richard and Marjory Peel, baptised; a poor Collyer, ran away next day, 5 June, 1698.

"Thomas, son to Charolinus Campbel, a Scotch man, a Beggar, and a Cripple, and Ann, his wife, was baptized in y^e Church, feb. y^e 10th, 1698.

"William, son to William and Jennet Greeve, a wandring Scotch Collier, baptized 2 Ap., 1699.

¹³² 30 Car., II., cap. i., by which burying in any shroud, etc., not made of sheep's wool was prohibited under a penalty of £5; an affidavit to this purpose was to be made either to a magistrate or the officiating minister.

¹³³ *i.e.* Flat grave-stones on the church floor.

- "John Dodd, of Wall, a poor Beggar, dyed in Collin's fold, sepult Ap. 3, 1699.
 "James, son to Issabel Hogge, a poor Begging Widdow, of Allnick parish, sep. 5 May, 1699.
 "A poor Beggar woman dyed in John Barkas house, came from Hexham, 28 May, 1699.
 "John Swir, a poor begging Collier, late of Benwell, buried Aug. 26, 1699.
 "Nicholas Lingley, of West Heddon, an old Beggar, bur. 26 Oct. 1699.
 "Thomas Thompson, bur. 2 Feb., 170^o₇, a poor old soldjer.
 "Martin, son, and Isabel, Daughter to William Jameson, of East Heddon, a poor Scotch-Man, were baptized 5 May, 1701.
 "July y^e 19th, 1703, old Issabel Ladler was poorly buried.
 "Old John Ritson sepult. May y^e 10th, 1706, very poor.

The number of fashionable weddings from a distance that took place at one time in Heddon Church is astonishing :—

- "Mr. Johannes Nelson et Mrs. Philadelphia Bellamy de Durham nupt. fuere in ecclesiâ nostrâ parochiali p. licent. Aug. 29, 1685.
 "Mr. Ralph Anderson and Mrs. Ann Anderson of Newcastle, married by Miles Birkett, vicar, 1702.
 "April y^e 8th, 1703. Mr. Philip Philipson of the Parish of St. Nicholas in Newcastle-upon-Tine, and Mrs. Mary Addison of the Parish of Ovingham were marryed (having obtain'd a license y^e day before) by M. Birkett, vicar.
 "Oct. y^e 10th, 1703. Mr. John Newby and Mrs. Anne Hunter of y^e Parish of Houghton in y^e spring, were marryed by License.
 "Mr. Matthew Wallas and Mrs. Mary Simpson of Benwell, 18 Mar., 1708.
 "Henry Woodruffe and Sarah Otterington of St. John's, Newcastle, 13 May, 1711.
 "Mr. Ralph Snawdon of All Saints, Newcastle, and Mrs. Grace Milburn of St. Nicholas, 2 Nov., 1714.
 "Mr. Thomas Hall and Mrs. Mary Mitford both of Elsdon parish, 11 Aug. 1715.
 "Mr. Michael Dawson of St. Andrew's, Newcastle, and Mrs. Barbara Trewhit of South Shields, 18 Oct., 1715.
 "Mr. Richard Wilkinson of Durham and Mrs. Hannah Sutton of South Shields, 10 Sept., 1716.
 "Mr. Thomas Slater of All Saints, Newcastle, and Mrs. Christian Blacket of Ovingham, 7 May, 1722.
 "Mr. George Sureties of Gateshead, and Mrs. Isebel Slator of Newcastle, 16 Ap., 1723.
 "Mr. Thomas Valentine of Warkworth, and Mrs. Anne Dawson of All Saints, Newcastle, 12 Mar., 1723.
 "Thomas Clennel, Esq., of the Parish of Allenton, and Mrs. Philadelphia Robinson of this parish, 7 July, 1724.
 "Mr. Michael Dawson and Mrs. Frances Armorer, both of Newcastle, 23 Sept., 1725.
 "Mr. John Gee and Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson, both of Newcastle, 5 Dec., 1725.
 "Utrick Whitfield, Esq., and Mrs. Mary Eden of St. John's Chappelry in Newcastle, Sept. 21, 1738."

The Parish Books begin in 1671. There is a list of churchwardens from that year to 1703. The first collection mentioned is one in the former year for the people of Halton, who had suffered grievously from fire ; the following "collections to briefs," curious in their way, were probably made also in most other parishes :—

- "18 Mar. 1677. Collected to a brief for those of Eaton, near Windsor, that suffered by fire, y^e sune of three shilings and a pennye.

"7, 8, 9, &c. Oct., 1678. For building of St. Paul's church in London, y^e sum of one pound two shillings and elevenpence.

"29 Sept. 1678. A brief for the towne of Wem was published and nothing collected, y^e day being ill and few at church and y^e brief almost out.

"Collected to a brief for y^e french Protestants y^e sum of eighteen shillings and twopence on y^e week days next after y^e Lord's day whereon it was published and that was y^e 20th day of May, 1683, it not coming to hand here till y^e Tuesday before, which was y^e 15th day of y^e same month.

"Sept. 21, 1684. Collected to a brief (the last among several) for New Market, 4s. 10½d. All these briefs were granted by Kg. Charles 2d. Y^e last was publisht as if uppermost.¹⁸⁴

"Oct. 22, 1700. Collected for the captives at Machanes, £1, 0s. 10d.

"July 26th, 1709. Collected on a Brief for Cannongate in North Britain, £1, 0s. 7½d.

"Collected in this parish for George Wood of Heddon-on-the-Wall, who had his house and all his household goods burnt by a sudden and accidental fire, Sept. 30th, 1709.

"Nov. 24th and 25th, 1709. Collected from house to house upon a Brief for the relief of the poor Palatines, 10s. 4½d.

"18th June, 1710. For the protestant church of Mittau in Courland, 3s.

In "good King Charles' golden days" ecclesiastical discipline was strenuously upheld. "About y^e latter end of November, 1681, from y^e Archdeacon's court, held att Newcastle," writes vicar Rayne, "I received notice from Mr. Slagge yt George Barkas of Eachwick, was absolved from excommunication;" and

"October y^e 2nd, 1681, an excommunication was publisht against Matthew Robson, William Patterson and wife, Thomas Spouer and Samuell Spouer, who were likewise excommunic. before.

Feb. 24th, 1684, Excom: was denounced by order from y^e Bshop, against Thomas Spouer, Matthew Robson, Wm. Patterson, Thomas Robson, Wm. Robson, Hannah Robson, Margaret Kell, and Isabell Laidler."

There is a quaintness about the following note accidentally preserved among the Registers:

"ffor Mr. Brecket,
Minister at Heddon-upon-the-Wall,

These

Sir, This may certifie you that y^e banns of marriage betwixt John Morpeth, of ours, and Hannah Barkas, of yours, were thrice published according to y^e canon, *nemine contradicente*, witness my hand this 8th of June, 1698.

Tho. Jones,
Curate in Hexham."

Full lists of the communicants are preserved from Easter 1694 to Easter 1711. Among them vicar Birkett mentions "my deare spouse and my mother Cowling." At Easter, 1738, there were about 86 communicants, more than a ninth of the population, and yet people of the present day talk of the torpor of the Church in the 18th century!

In 1704, the bell was re-cast at the cost of £4 10s. 0d., and the church repaired; "all which was done at the request of Mr. Birkett,

¹⁸⁴ A curious instance of the Merry Monarch's partiality for Newmarket.

vicar and the Instigation of Robt. Bewicke, Esq." In 1724, £23 16s. 3d. was expended in "new roofing the south Isle of the church." The road from the Vicarage to the Church was repaired in 1715, at the expense of the parish, but it was expressly provided that this should form no precedent against it being maintained for the future by the township.

Vicar Armstrong, in 1754, remarks with evident satisfaction, that in the parish, "at this time, there was not so much as one Papist,¹³⁵ nor a Dissenter of any other Denomination, but Presbyterian." He has left us a list of "the Exact number of souls" for that year:—

			Families.	Souls.	Presbyterians.
Heddon-on-the-Wall and its Precincts	...	...	78	304	1
Closehouse, Houghton, &c.	...	...	15	78	0
High Seat, &c.	...	...	3	20	1
Whitchester	...	...	6	27	0
Loudside	...	...	6	28	0
Eachwick, &c.	...	...	36	131	5
West Heddon, &c.	...	...	8	44	1
East Heddon Lordship	...	...	23	122	5
			175	754	13

About this time, he adds, 'one year with another' there were 5 marriages, 18 baptisms, and 10 burials.

There are no such details afforded again till the Rev. J. A. Blackett became vicar in 1830, and composed a most elaborate *speculum gregis*.

Although the inquest after the death of Lord William Howard, taken at Carlisle, 22nd April, 1642, states that he died seized of the manor of Heddon-on-the-Wall as part of the barony of Morpeth,¹³⁶ half the manor appears to have passed into the hands of Sir Robert Wingfield of Upton, co Northampton, M.P. for Stamford, probably as a grant from the Crown, obtained through the influence of his uncle William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the celebrated minister of Queen Elizabeth. At any rate, on the 29th April, 1631, Sir Robert Wingfield sold to Henry Deth of Stamford, Esq., for £600, (a moiety of) the manor of Heddon-upon-the-Wall with messuages, mills, coal mines, &c.,

¹³⁵ On September 3, 1780, Vicar Armstrong returned three men and three women in the parish as Papists, or reputed Papists, to the Bishop of Durham, in a letter sealed with his arms: *gu., three dexter arms vambraced, ppr.*—Original in possession of Mr. Blair.

¹³⁶ In the Feodary's Book, 1568, Lord Dacre appears as seized of only the mediety of the 'ville de Heddon. super murum.'—Hodgson's *Northd.*, III., iii., Pref., p. lxii.

suits, services, courts, courts leet, courts baron, views of frank-pledge, &c., the advowson of the church (*sic*), and the 5th part of the Rectory or parsonage, appropriate with the tithes belonging to such part.¹³⁷ All this Deth immediately sold, on the 27th January following, to Ralph Carr of Darwentcoate, co. Durham, gent., for £620. Carr was fortunate enough to obtain £720 on 28th April, 1635, from Reynold Horseley of Milburn, gent., and Richard Pearson of Newcastle, gent., trustees of James Metham of London, Esq., for the manor, &c., but with the reservation to himself of the coal-mines, &c. From a fine, wherein Metham and Pearson were the plaintiffs, and Carr and Dorothy, his wife, the deforcants, we learn that the appurtenances of this portion of Heddon Manor were then 7 messuages, 6 cottages, 1 water corn mill, 300 acres of (ploughed) land, 100 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, and 50 acres of furze and heath. Reynold Horseley of High Callerton, gent., the surviving trustee, and Tobias Pearson of Durham Moor House, gent., son and heir of Richard Pearson, conveyed the moiety of the manor, &c., in 1659, to James Metham of Newcastle, gent., cousin and heir to James Metham, deceased. In 1661, this James Metham sold it for £800 to Julian Dent of Newcastle, widow.¹³⁸ Julian Dent died intestate in 1689, leaving two daughters (Isabel, wife of William Bigge, attorney-at-law of Newcastle, and Julian, wife of John Hindmarsh, gent., of Little Benton), who consequently each became possessed of a quarter of the manor.¹³⁹

On 28th Sept., 1717, the lands of the manor were partitioned by award between Thomas Bigge of Little Benton, gent., and his aunt, Julian Hindmarsh, and the Earl of Carlisle, who owned the other moiety. The whole lands contained 1,020 acres, or thereabouts : 504 acres on the west side of the township were assigned to Lord Carlisle ; 260 acres, the north-east part, to Mrs. Hindmarsh ; and 256 acres, the south-east part, to Mr. Bigge ; 13 acres of glebe being given to the vicar on the south-side of the Roman Wall in lieu of the stints claimed by him, and the mill and the stone¹⁴⁰ under the common left

¹³⁷ From deeds at Heddon.—C. J. B.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ In Hodgson's *Northumberland*, II., i., p. 98, there is given a much elaborated pedigree of the Bigge family, which, however is inaccurate as regards the Heddon property.

¹⁴⁰ Belted Will had the stone, carved with his arms above the great gateway at Naworth, brought from Heddon in 1626.—Surt. Soc. Pub. 68, p. 238.

undivided. The houses occupied by the tenants too were excepted from this division. But on 25th February, 1731, a further award separated those of the Bigge and Hindmarsh quarter. John Cresswell and William and Anthony Barkas, yeomen, were the principal tenants of the former.¹⁴¹ In 1810 Mr. Chas. Wm. Bigge sold his estate to Mr. George Bates of Aydon, and about the same time Lord Carlisle's interest was acquired by the Clayton family.¹⁴²

The mining rights reserved in 1635 were sold by Francis Carr, Esq., son and heir of Ralph Carr, to Henry Widdrington, Esq. of Black Heddon, and by him 'bargained and sold, Jan. 26, 1654, to the Hon. Charles Howard of Naworth Castle.' These rights being specifically defined as the winning of coal, heap room, wayleave, and liberty to build 'cottages, lodges, hovels, and shields,' Mr. George Grey, to whom a dispute between Mr. Slater, the lessee of Lord Carlisle's colliery, and Mr. Hindmarsh, the owner of the surface, was submitted in 1730, held that Lord Carlisle and his tenant had no right to throw the water drawn out of the pit on Mr. Hindmarsh's ground, nor to dig a trench for its conveyance, but that the water might be carried off underground.¹⁴³ Subsequently the coal was leased by Lord Carlisle to Mr. Barkas, who employed William Brown as his overman. Brown was a remarkably able man, and when afterwards Mr. Barkas threw up his lease owing to the bad state of trade, the story goes that in buying some flannel for his pit clothes from Mr. Bell, a wealthy draper in Newcastle, he happened to mention what a pity it was that the Heddon pits should be laid in, and the partnership of Bell and Brown was consequently formed to work them,¹⁴⁴ and the adjacent royalty of Throckley. William Brown removed to a house at Throckley Fell,

¹⁴¹ From deeds at Heddon.—C. J. B.

¹⁴² The Hindmarsh quarter of Heddon-on-the-Wall township was left by Thomas Hindmarsh to Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Leonard Shafto, rector of Gateshead (d. 1731), and wife of the Rev. Thomas Orde [see Burke's *Landed Gentry*—ORDE of WEETWOOD], whose daughter, Elizabeth Orde, married 1775 Thomas Shadforth, master mariner, of Newcastle, and left three sons and a daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Captain John Dutton. The whole property was held in undivided eighteenths among Sarah Shafto's descendants, and naturally neglected. The Orde and Shadforth shares having been ultimately purchased by Mr. Clayton, and the Dutton share by Mr. Bates in 1867, a division has since been carried out.

¹⁴³ MSS. Thos. Bates, to whom this was communicated by Mr. Woodman. The Court Rolls of Heddon Manor, which should contain much curious rural history, are supposed to be at Castle Howard.

¹⁴⁴ Heddon was the first place where coals were screened to separate the 'round' from the 'small.' The practice was begun in 1784.

and should be gratefully remembered by antiquaries from the fact of his having saved the Hercules of VINDOBALA from further injury.¹⁴⁵

Messrs. Bell and Brown built a row of houses for their workmen fronting the Carlisle road, at the east boundary of Heddon parish. These houses standing empty at the time of the French Revolution, were prepared for the reception of the refugee clergy. "They presented," says Mackenzie, "a pleasing spectacle to the passing traveller. The entrance to the apartments on the second story was by a flight of steps on the outside, which landed on a gallery that ran nearly the whole length of the building. In the front were plots of ground for gardens, which were kept in excellent order by the respective possessors. This society of strangers frequently experienced the hospitality and benevolence of the neighbouring gentry. They erected a large sun-dial with an inscription upon it expressive of their gratitude to the English nation."¹⁴⁶ These houses, since known as Frenchman's Row, were at that time dignified with the name of Heddon Square. In the Church Register we find, under the year 1799 :—

"The Revd. James Bricquebec, of Heddon Square, French Clergyman, Died May 11th; Buried May 12th. Age 72 years.

"The Revd. John Lewis Anthony Dufresne, of Heddon Square, French Clergyman, Died April 21st; Buried April 22nd. Age 69.

"The Revd. John Foucard, of Heddon Square, Died June 5th; Buried June 6th. Age 39.

In his answers to the Visitation questions propounded by the Bishop of Durham (Shute Barrington) in 1801, Vicar Allason wrote : "There are no Papists in the Parish, natives of this Kingdom—But there are Thirty-eight Emigrant Priests, who assemble at stated times, in a Room set apart for the purpose of public Worship, agreeable to the Romish Ritual."¹⁴⁷

It seems these emigrants also cultivated a field or two in Throckley township, and there are those still alive who can remember the

¹⁴⁵ *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 48, No. 82. Outside the east end of the south aisle of Heddon Church is a tablet with :—'Hic reponuntur cineres spe beatæ Resurrectionis Johannis et Agnis Liberatorum Gulielmi Brown de Throckley Fell. Johannes obiit decimo nono Die Januarii 1748 Anno ætatis tertio, Agnes obiit die secundo Feb. 1748 Ætat. dec. mense. Quales fuere dies ille supremus indicabit.' On a flat stone beneath is, 'The Family Burial Place of William Brown, Esq.,' with the conventional arms of BROWN: *On a plain bend cotised three lions passant*, and the motto '*Suivez Raison*,' which is still used by the DIXON-BROWNS, of Unthank. For an account of the older grave-stones in the churchyard see Appendix E.

¹⁴⁶ Mackenzie's *Northumberland*, Vol. II., p. 375.

¹⁴⁷ Original in possession of Mr. Blair.

strange sight of the ecclesiastics digging in their long robes. Their home was afterwards turned into a poor-house for the Castle Ward Union, and, on this being removed to Ponteland, let out into tenements. In 1883 the whole was thoroughly repaired, with the gardens replaced in front, instead of the high walls of the workhouse yard. The plaster had crumbled nearly all off the face of the huge dial, but this is now to be restored in accordance with the few traces of the figures and border left. As an appropriate motto, the old French adage has been suggested :—

LE TEMPS PASSE, LE SOUVENIR RESTE.

ADDENDA.

An inquisition relating to the Manor of Barrasford, on the death of Margery, daughter of Richard Umfrevill and second wife of Roger de Merley, was held at Heddon-on-the-Wall on the Monday after the feast of St. Peter in Cathedra, 1292.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*, II., ii., p. 470, n. 6.

P. 256, n. 66.—‘Thomas Reed of Old Town (in Redesdale), gentleman, and Gawen Reed of Corsenside, were, in 1556, witnesses to a deed of Clement Reed of the Close, in the parish of Heddon-on-the-Wall, whose ancestor, Thomas Reed, was probably a cadet of the Reeds of Redesdale.’—Spearman’s notes, *Ibid.* II., i., p. 138.

P. 258, n. 71.—The arms of BARWICK, co. Northumberland, were: *Or, three bears’ heads erased sa., muzzled arg.*; those of BARWICK of Sutton, co. York: *Arg., three bears’ heads erased sa., muzzled gu.*—Edmondson’s *Heraldry*, Vol. II.

P. 278, n. 127.—Cuthbert Milburne, alias Cuddy of the Leam, was, for various felonies, including the theft of two horses from Thomas Reed of Heddon-on-the-Wall, sentenced, at the Newcastle Assizes in 1629, to be sent to the wars with Captain Clark.—*Arch. Æl.*, I. (O.S.), p. 159.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE plan and architectural drawings of Heddon Church, which Mr. W. H. Knowles has most kindly allowed to be used as illustrations of this paper, did not, unfortunately, reach me till my verbal description of the church was already in the press. A few words in explanation of the Plates may be of service.

Plate XXV.—The two elevations of the east wall of the south aisle show the “long and short” quoins of the south-east angle of the ancient nave and the three lines of water-tabling. The monumental tablet is that to the memory of the Brown children, p. 286, n. 145.

The south side of the chancel is represented by Mr. Knowles with such fidelity that the points at issue with Mr. Boyle can be almost as well understood as on the spot. The western double-lancet is, I insist, an undoubted insertion, and this insertion has greatly disturbed the surrounding masonry; but that the course of masonry above that window, and the door with the plain tympanum to the left of it, are the most decided Norman cannot, in my opinion, be gainsayed.

Plate XXVI.—In this view of the interior of the chancel the old semi-circular door-head is seen over the new vestry door on the left. An external door in the north wall of a chancel is an unusual feature; there was one at Jarrow. On the right it will be noticed that the courses of masonry continue perfectly level under both the arch and the window to the west of it. An iron ring for a lamp yet remains in the key-stone of the groined vault. The floor of the whole chancel was originally almost as high as the middle of the second altar step.

Plate XXVII.—This is a sketch of the northern cluster of triple pillarets that support the arch in the chancel. As is mentioned in the text, the capitals differ from those of the southern cluster by the short stems that protrude between the scallops.

Plate XXVIII.—The primary object of this plan was to show the Norman bay at the east end of the chancel; this is given in black. The quoins at the east of the south aisle are marked by Mr. Knowles (judging independently) as those of the ancient nave. The rest of the

shading merely shows old work without discriminating between the diversities of style. Perhaps it is as well that this should be the case, so long as the west bay of the chancel is made the subject of controversy; but it must be remembered that the piers formed by the responds of the chancel arch and of those of the nave are anything but homogeneous masonry. Portions, too, of the porch are ancient.

B.

Inquiry into the Possessions of Close House Chantry. A.D. 1415.

Inquisitio ad quod damnum, 2 Hen. V., No. 10 (Public Record Office).

Henry V. at Westminster, on the 6th of December, 1415, having heard that the possessions of the chantry of the Close, in the parish of Heddon-on-the-Wall, have been alienated, directs his Escheator in Northumberland to hold an inquiry into the case. On the Thursday next before the feast of the Circumcision (Janry the 1st), Robert de Lisle, the Escheator, empanels a jury of twelve at the Castle of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and they report that Nicholas Turpyn has occupied and enjoyed a messuage, a chapel, fifty acres of tillage, and ten acres of meadow, forming the entire property of the chantry, ever since the 16th of April, 14th Richard II., but by what title they cannot say.

[Writ.] Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Escaetori suo in Comitatu Northumbrie salutem. Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod diversa terre, tenementa, prata, pasture, redditus, et alie possessiones Cantarie vocate le Cloos, in parochia de Heddone on the Walle juxta villam Novi Castri super Tynam, que de patronatu nostro existit, spectancia et pertinencia, per diversos ligeos nostros ab eadem Cantaria subtracta et elongata existunt in Cantarie predictae depauperacionem et exheredacionem manifestam, Nos volentes in hac parte per te plenius cerciorari, tibi precipimus quod per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de balliva tua per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit, diligenter inquiras que terre tenementa prata pasture redditus et possessiones predictae Cantarie spectent sive pertineant et que et cujusmodi terre tenementa prata pasture redditus et possessiones ab eadem Cantaria subtracta et elongata existant, et ad quantam summam se extendant per annum et per quos vel per quem quibus temporibus et quo modo, Et inquisitionem inde distincte et aperte factam nobis in Cancellariam nostram sub sigillo tuo et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilacione mittas et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vi die Decembris anno regni nostri secundo. Asplion.

[Endorsed.] Responsio Roberti Lisle Escaetoris Northumbrie patet in Inquisicio huic brevi consueto.

Inquisicio capta apud castrum Domini Regis de Novo Castro super Tynam die mercurie proximo post festum circumcicionis Domini anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Anglie secundo, coram Roberto Lisle Escaetore Domini Regis in comitatu Northumbrie virtute brevis dicti Domini Regis eidem Escaetori directi et huic inquisitioni consuati, per sacramentum Johannis Lisle, Roberti Musgrave, Roberti Carlele, Edwardi Witwange, Johannis Dolfamby, Willielmi Benete, Ricardi Thwenge, Johannis Robson, Rogeri Gymbunson, Roberti Throk-lawe, Thome Molde, et Roberti Dawson, Juratorum, Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod cantarie vocate le Cloos, in parochia de Heddone on ye Walle juxta villam Novi Castra super Tynam, spectant et pertinent unum messuagium, una capella, quinquaginta acre terre arabiles, et decem acre prati, cum pertinentiis que per quamdam fossam circumclauduntur, que per Nicholaum Turpyn ab eadem cantaria subtracta et elongata existunt et valent et se extend-

unt per annum in omnibus exitibus ultra reprisas ad quatuor marcas. Et dicunt predicti juratores quod dictus Nicholaus Turpyn occupavit dictam cantariam, messuagium, capellam, quinquaginta acras terre arabilis, et decem acras prati, cum pertinentiis a sexto decimo die Aprilis anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie xiii^o usque in die capcionis hujus inquisitionis et inde per totum tempus antedictum exitus firmam et proficia inde proveniencia ad usum suum proprium percepit et habuit quo titulo predicti juratores ignorant. Dicunt eciam predicti juratores super sacramentum suum quod nulla alia terre tenementa prata pasture seu possessiones dicte cantarie spectant sive pertinent, quodque nulla alia terre tenementa prata pasture redditus vel possessiones ab eadem cantaria, exceptis prius exceptis, aliquid subtracta vel elongata existunt prout dictis juratoribus constare possit ad presens. In cujus rei testimonium huic inquisitioni predicti juratores sigilla sua apposuerunt. Datum die, anno, et loco supradictis.

C.

Gift of Lands, at Heddon and Whitchester to the Abbey of Blanchland by Nicholas de Hoghton. A.D. 1329.

Inquisitio Post Mortem 3 Ed. III., No. 126. (Public Record Office).

Edward III. at York, on the 4th of August, 1328, orders Simon de Grimsby, his Escheator north of the Trent, to hold an inquiry as to whether Nicholas de Hoghton may be safely permitted to give two messuages, ninety acres of land, and a rent of twenty shillings, at Heddon-on-the-Wall and Whitechester, to the Abbot and Convent of Blanchland, in order that they may provide a chaplain to say mass daily in the parish church of Heddon-on-the-Wall for the soul of Nicholas de Hoghton, and the souls of his father and mother and other ancestors for ever. The inquiry is held at Corbridge on the Saturday after the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin by a jury, who say that Nicholas de Hoghton may be permitted to do so, without prejudice to the King or others. The lands he proposes to give are worth 30s. a year, and are, together with the rent in question, held by him of John de Lancaster (son and heir of Roger de Lancaster and Philippa de Bolbeck—Hodgson's Northumberland, II., i., p. 239) for 2s.; but, besides these, he holds a messuage and twenty-four acres of him in Whitechester, and a messuage and twenty acres of Robert de Hydewin in West Heddon, and these afford ample security for the performance of all his feudal services.

[*Writ.*] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie dilecto et fideli suo Simoni de Grimmesby Escaetori suo citra Trentam salutem. Mandamus vobis quod per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de balliva vestra per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit diligenter inquiratis si sit ad dampnum vel prejudiciu nostrum aut aliorum si concedamus Nicholus de Hoghtone quod ipse duo mesuagia quater viginti et decem acras terre et viginti solidatas redditus cum pertinentiis in Hedone . . the Walle et Wittecestre dare possit et assignare dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui de Alba Landa ad inveniendum quendam Capellanum divina pro anima ipsius Nicholai et animabus patris et matris ac aliorum antecessorum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum in ecclesia parochiali de Hedone on the Walle singulis diebus celebraturum. Habendum et tenendum eisdem Abbati et Conventui et successoribus suis ad inveniendum Capellanum predictum divina ibidem sicut predictum est singulis diebus celebraturum imperpetuum, necne. Et si sit ad dampnum vel prejudiciu nostrum aut aliorum tunc ad quod dampnum et quod prejudiciu nostrum et ad quod dampnum et quod prejudiciu aliorum et quorum et qualiter et quo modo et de quo vel de quibus predicta messuagia et terra et redditus teneantur et per quod serviciu et qualiter et quo modo et quantum predicta mesuagia et terra valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem eorundem et qui et quot sunt medii intra nos et prefatum

Nicholaum de mesuagiis terra et redditu predictis et que terra et que tenementa eidem Nicholao remaneant ultra donacionem et assignacionem predictas et ubi et de quo vel de quibus teneantur et per quod servicium et qualiter et quo modo et quantum valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus et si terre et tenementa eidem Nicholao remanencia ultra donacionem et assignacionem predictas sufficiant ad consuetudines et servicia tam de predictis mesuagiis terra et redditu sic datis quam de aliis terris et tenementis sibi retentis debita facienda et omnia alia onera que sustinuerint vel sustinere consueverint ut in sectis visibus franciplegii auxiliis tallagiis vigiliis finibus redemcionibus amerciamentis contribucionibus et aliis quibuscumque emergentibus sustinendis et quod idem Nicholaus in assisis juratis et aliis recognicionibus quibuscunque poni possit prout ante donacionem et assignacionem predictas poni consuevit. Ita quod patria per donacionem et assignacionem predictas in ipsius Nicholai defectum magis solito non oneretur seu gravetur. Et inquisitionem inde distincte et aperte factam nobis sub sigillo vestro et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilacione mittatis et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Eboracum iiii. die Augusti anno regni nostri secundo.

Inquisicio capta coram Simone de Grymesby Escaetori Domini Regis citra Trentam abud Corbrigge die sabbati proxima ante festum Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu secundo per sacramentum Roberti Hydwinwest, Willielmi de Eggiscliffe, Roberti de Lumley, Simonis de Waskerley, Johannis filii Alicide de Corbrigge, Willielmi de Hydewin, Willielmi filii Ade, Johannis de Bechefeld, Ade de Cockefeld, Ade de Aydene, Willielmi de Ovington, et Thome Hunter, Juratorum, si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium Domini Regis predicti ant aliorum si idem Dominus Rex concedat Nicholao de Hoghtone quod ipse duo messuagia quater viginti et decem acras terre et viginti solidatas redditus cum pertinentiis in Hedone on the Walle et Whitteceestre dare possit et assignare Abbati et Conventui de Albabanda ad inveniendum quandam capellanum divina pro anima ipsius Nicholai et animabus patris et matris ac aliorum antecessorum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum in ecclesia parochiali de Hedone on the Walle singulis diebus celebraturum, Habendum et tenendum ipsis Abbati et Coventui et successoribus suis imperpetuum, necne. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod non est ad dampnum nec prejudicium Domini Regis nec aliorum. Item dicunt quod predicta terra tenementa et redditus tenentur de Johanne de Langcastre per servicium ij s. per annum pro omni servicio et dicta messuagia et terra valent per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem xxx s. Et dicunt quod predictus Johannes de Langcastre est medius inter dominum Regem et ipsum Nicholaum de tenementis predictis. Et dicunt quod adhuc remanent penes dictum Nicholaum unum messuagu im et xxiiij acras terre in Whitteceestre et unum messuagium et xx acras terre in Hydewinwest ultra donacionem et assignacionem predictas et dicta messuagia et xxiiij acre terre in Whitteceestre tenentur de Johanne de Langcastre per servicium trium denariorum ad Wardam castri Novi Castri super Tinam et quo ad cornagium per annum et valent per annum in omnibus exitibus xxiiij s. Et predicta messuagia et xx acre terre in Hydewynwest tenentur de Roberto de Hydewin per servicium ij s, ad predictam Wardam et obsli quo ad cornagium per annum et valent per annum in omnibus exitibus xvj s. Et dicunt quod predicta terre et tenementa eidem Nicholao ultra donacionem et assignacionem predictas remanencia sufficiunt ad consuetudines et servicia tam de predictis messuagiis terra et redditu sic datis quam de aliis terris et tenementis sibi retentis debita facienda et ad omnia alia onera que sustinint et sustinere consuevit juxta tenorem brevis. Et dicunt quod idem Nicholaus in assisis juratis et aliis recognicionibus quibuscumque poni potest prout ante donacionem et assignacionem predictas poni consuevit. Ita quod patria per donacionem et assignacionem predictas in ipsius Nicholai defectum magis solito non oneretur seu gravetur. In cujus rei testimonium predicti Jurati sigilla sua apposuerunt huic Inquisitioni. Datum apud Corbrigge die et anno supradictis.

[*Endorsed.*] Fiat per finem quinquaginta solidorum.

*Lord Treasurer's Remembrances of Exchequer. Originalia. Roll 22.
3 Ed. III. Northumbr. in r^o vij^{to}. (Public Record Office.)*

For the consideration of 50s., the King, at Wallingford, on the 23rd of April, 1329, grants a license to Nicholas de Hoghton to give these lands, &c., to be held in mortmain.

Grossi fines.

Nicholaus de Hoghtone finem fecit cum Rege per quinquaginta solidos pro licencia habenda dandi et assignandi laicum feodum in Hedone on the Walle et Whittestre ad manum mortuam habendum. Teste Rege apud Walyngford xxiiij die Aprilis.

D.

*Lease of the Great Tithes of Heddon Parish, &c., to George Mason,
A.D. 1590.*

*(From the original in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of
Newcastle-upon-Tyne).*

Queen Elizabeth at Westminster, on the 21st of March, 1590, grants by letters patent, a Lease for 21 years to George Mason, gent., at the old rent of £14 17s. 0½d., of the tithes of grain of Heddon-on-the-Wall, Eachwick, Hedwin, Whitchester, and Houghton Close and Grange, together with the tithe barns of Heddon and Eachwick, and the tithes of salmon at Heddon, as these were lately held by Roger Mitford and Edmund Claxton, at the rent of £5; also all the other possessions of the monastery of Blanchland at Heddon, which they have held at the rent of £7, including the right of digging and drawing coal and other ore with wayleave and staithleave; and likewise the tithe of these premises amounting to £2 17s. 0½d.

Elizabeth dei gratia Anglie, francie et hibernie, Regina, fidei defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes Litere pervenerint salutem: Cum quidam vetus annualis redditus Quatuordecem librorum septemdecem solidorum et unius oboli pro premissis inferius specificatis jamdiu abhinc fuit responsus et decimis inde cujusdam summe Quinquaginta septem solidorum et unius oboli nunc multisque Annis preteritis ratione cujusdam dimissionis de quibusdam Rogero Mitforde et Edmundo Claxton facte, Sciatis igitur quod nos pro eo quod dilectus Subditus noster Georgius Mason generosus predictum annualem redditum Quatuordecem librorum septemdecem solidorum et unius oboli pro premissis respondere offert, de Avisamento dilectorum et fidelium Consiliariorum nostrorum Willielmi Baronis de Burghley Thesaurarii nostri Anglie, Johannis Fortescue Armigeri Subthesaurarii Curie Scaccarii, ac Rogeri Manwoode militis Capitalis Baronis ejusdem Scaccarii, Tradidimus concessimus et ad firmam dimisimus, ac per presentes tradimus concedimus et ad firmam dimittimus prefato Georgio Masone omnes illas decimas nostras granorum annuatim et de tempore in tempus provenientes crescentes sive renovaturas intra villas et campos de Heddone super murum, Echewyk, Hedwyne, Whichester, Houghtone Close et Grainge, in comitatu nostro Northumbrie, ac horrea decimalia de Heddon et Echewyk predictis cum uno gardino eidem horreo decimali de Echewyk spectanti ac decimas nostras Salmonum de Heddon predicto, cum omnibus et singulis eorum pertinentiis universis modo vel nuper in tenura sive occupatione dictorum Rogeri Mitford et Edmundi Claxton vel assignatorum suorum seu assignatorum eorum

alterius annuali redditu Quinque librorum, Necnon omnia illa terras, tenementa, domos, cotagia, clausa, piscaria, prata, pasturas, moras, communia pasture, terras, arrabiles, medietatem molendini aquatici, insuper et woodhames, cum omnibus aliis proficiis, easimentis, et commoditatibus eisdem premissis spectantibus sive pertinentibus, scituatis et existentibus in villa campis territorii et bundis de Heddon super murum predicto, Necnon libertatem fodiendi et hauriendi intra libertates et bundas predictas carbonem lapideum sive aliquod aliud genus de le ore ibidem, unacum Waileve et staithleve per et trans campos et bundas predictos pro cariagio eorundem, modo vel nuper in tenura sive occupatione dictorum Rogeri Mitforth et Edmundi Claxton vel assignatorum suorum seu assignatorum eorum alterius annuali redditu Septem librorum, Que omnia et singula premissa nuper monasterio de Blauncheland in dicto comitatu pertinencia et spectancia ac parcelas possessionum inde quondam existentes ac omnia et singula domos, edificia, structuras, horrea, stabula, columbaria, hortos, pomaria, gardinos, terras, tenementa, prata, pascua, pasturas, lezas, brueras, communia, vasta, jampna, mariscos, aquas, aquarum cursus, gurgites, ripas, stagna, vinaria, piscaria, piscaciones, proficia, commoditates, advantagia, emolumenta, hereditamenta nostra quecunque cum eorum pertinentiis universis aut cum eisdem seu eorum aliquo vel aliquibus antehac usualiter per redditum inferius in his presentibus literis nostris patentibus reservatum dimissis, locatis, habitis, cognitis, acceptis, usitatis, occupatis, seu reputatis existere, Exceptis tamen semper et nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris omnino reservatis omnibus grossis arboribus, boscis et subboscis premissorum, Habendum et tenendum predictas decimas granorum et cetera omnia et singula premissa superius per presentes dimissa cum eorum membris et pertinentiis universis, exceptis prius exceptis, prefato Georgio Masone executoribus et assignatoribus suis a festo Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis proxime futuro usque ad finem termini et per terminem viginti et unius Annorum extunc proxime sequentium et plene complendorum, Reddendum inde annuatim nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris Quatuordecem libros septemdecem solidos et unum obolum legalis monete Angelie ad festa sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis ad manus Ballivorum vel Receptorum premissorum pro tempore existentium per equales porciones solvendo durante termino predicto. Et predictus Georgius Masone, executores, et assignatores sui omnia domos et edificia ac omnia sepes, fossata, inclusa, littora, ripas, et muros maritimos, necnon omnes alias necessarias reparaciones premissorum in omnibus et per omnia de tempore in tempus totiens quotiens necesse et oportunum fuerit sumptibus suis propriis et expensis bene et sufficienter reparabunt, supportebunt, sustinieunt, escurebunt, purgabant, et manutenebunt, durante termino predicto ac premissa sufficienter reparata et manutenta in fine termini dimittent. Et Volumus ac per presentes concedimus prefato Georgio Masone, executoribus, et assignatoribus suis quod bene licebit eis de tempore in tempus capere precipere et habere de in et super premissis crescentibus competens et sufficiens houseboote, hedgboote, fyreboote, ploughboote, et carteboote ibidem et non alibi annuatim expendendum et occupandum durante termino predicto, Et quod habeant materiaturam in boscis et terris premissorum crescentem ad et versus reparaciones domorum et edificiorum premissorum per assignacionem et supervisionem Senescalli seu Subsenescalli aut aliorum officialium nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existentium durante termino predicto. Proviso semper quod si contigerit predictum redditum superius per presentes reservatum a retro fore non solum in parte vel in toto perspacium Quadraginta dierum post aliquod festum festorum predictorum quout prefertur solvi debeat quod tunc et deinceps hec presens dimissio et concessio vacua sit ac pro nullo habeatur Aliquo in presentibus incontrario inde non obstante Aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, proclamacione sive restrictione incontrario inde antehac habito, facto, edito, ordinato seu proviso, Aut aliqua alia re, causa, vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipsa apud Westmonasterium vicesimo primo die marcii Anno regni nostri Tricesimo secundo et per breve de privato sigillo &c. Buggyn.

E.

There are four, only four, tombstones of ancient appearance in Heddon churchyard that are still legible, but as these are gradually falling to pieces, the inscriptions are worth placing on record.

(1) Just south of the path, at the south-east corner of the porch, is a headstone in memory of a child, bearing a good old border name :—

“ Here lieth interred The Body of IANE REVELY, who departed this Life A^vGust ye 26th day, 1724, AGed 2 years.”

(2) A little to the south of this last, we read :—

“ Here Lyeth interr'd ye Body of Iohn, son of Ralph peascod of Heddon on ye wall, who died May ye 12th, 1730, aged 21 years, also Wm. & bridget, who died young.”

(3) To the east of the footpath, halfway between the entrance to the churchyard and the porch, is a small stone with embattled edges, having on its east face :—

“ Here lieth interred ye b * * * of IOHN BEWICK, of Darras Hall, Husbandman, who dyd Nov^{br} ye 24, 1730, aged 26 years ;” and on its west face, “ * * * that the said Iohn Bewick hath left the sum of ten pounds to the poor of the parish of Heddon on the wall to be Distributed among them at the Discretion of the Vicar and Churchwardens of the said parish.”

(4) At the south-west corner of the church :—

“ Here Lieth the Body of Iohn Waddle, who Departed Iuly ye 17, 1731, aged 44 years.”

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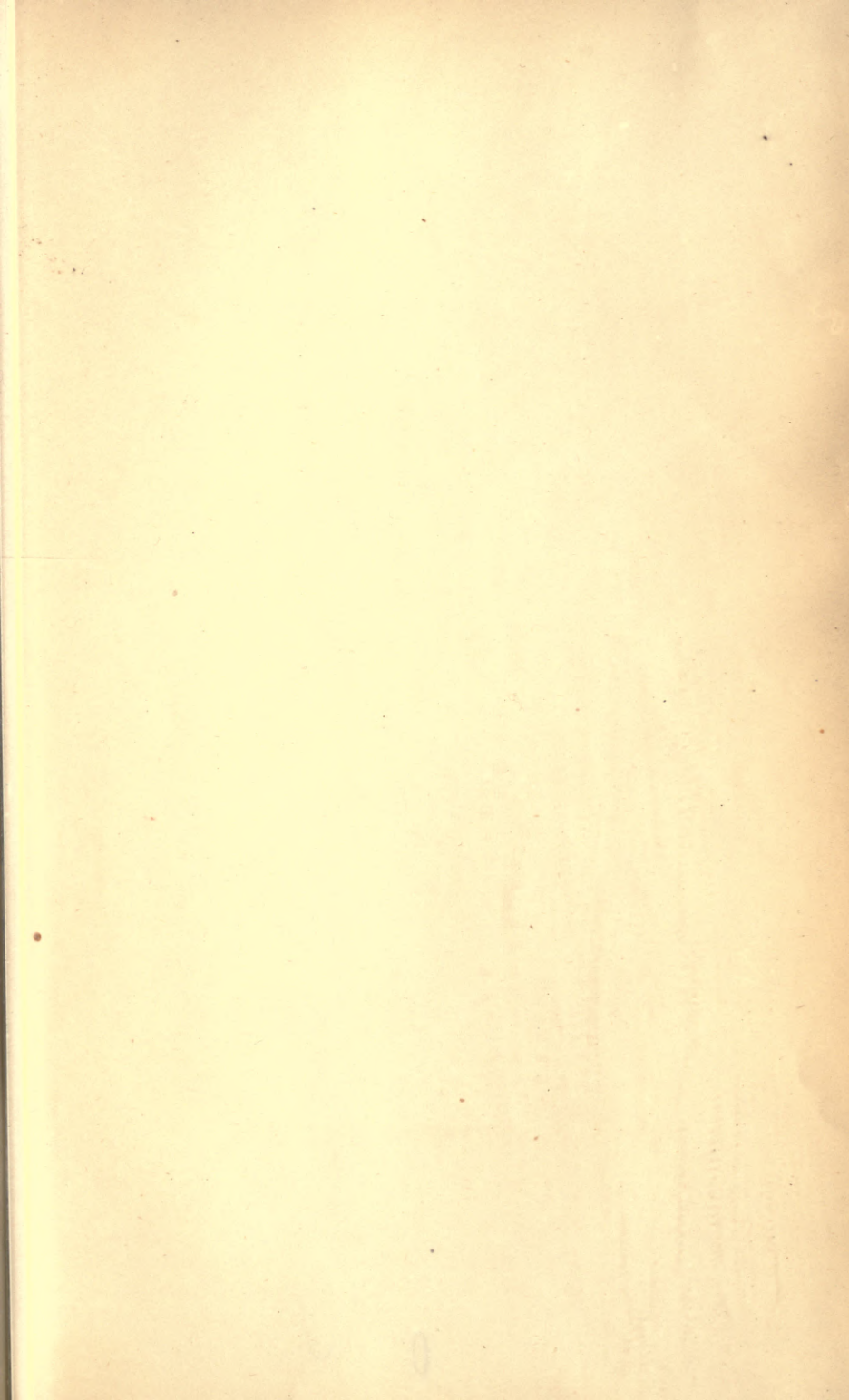
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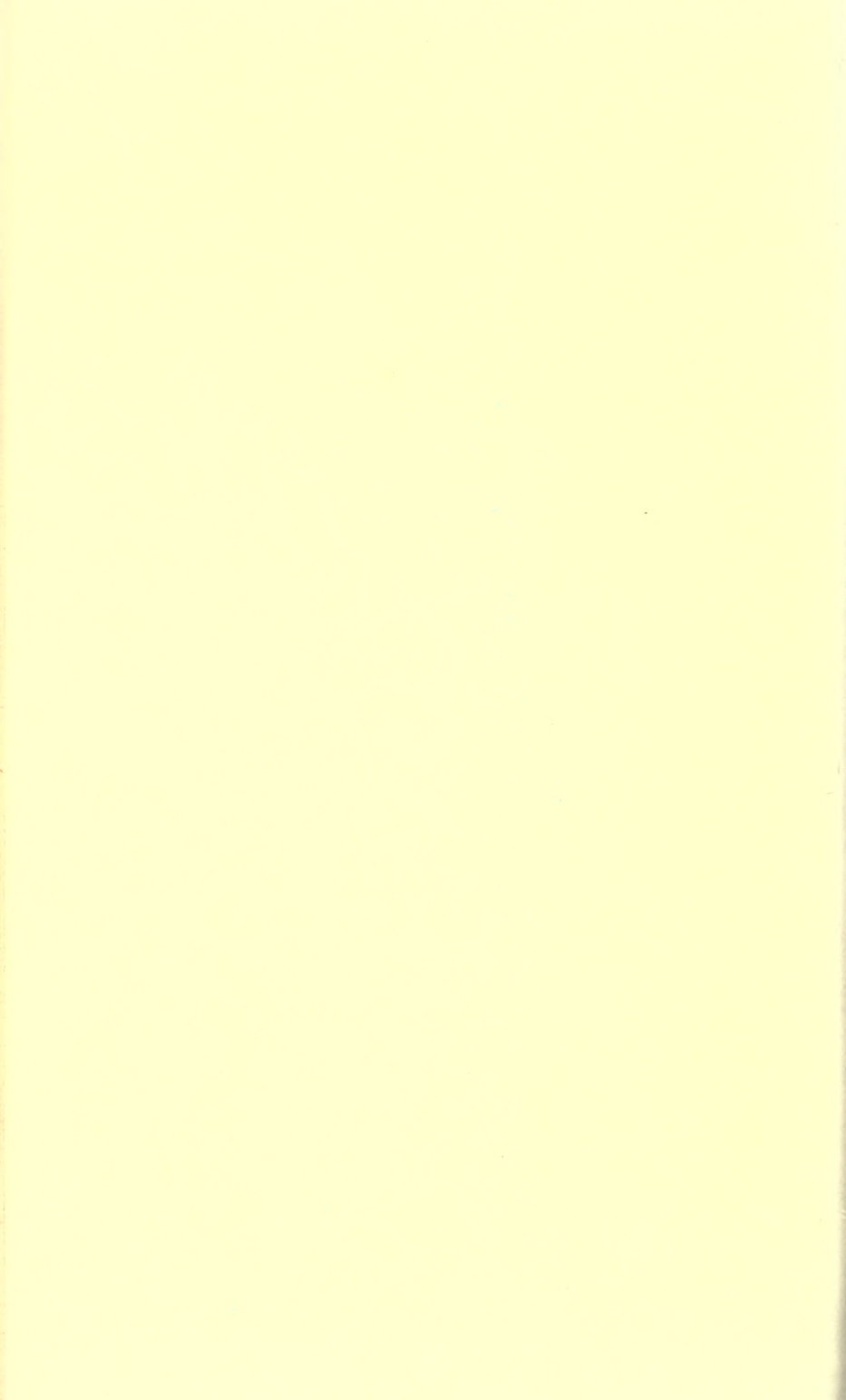
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